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CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Courting of Dobroi Ivan, the Russian Peasant, by Prof. J. B. Brebner - - - - -	199
Federal Propaganda in Great Britain during the Civil War, by J. H. Kiger - - - - -	204
An Undergraduate's View of the Crisis of 1860, contributed by Prof. M. L. Bonham - - - - -	209
The Assignment and the Overview, by Prof. B. W. Phillips -	211
The Laboratory Method in the Trenton Senior High School, by E. Y. Raetzer - - - - -	215
Proposed Reorganization of the National Council for the Social Studies, by Prof. J. M. Gambrill - - -	221
Presidential Elections, 1789-1924, with tables of electoral and popular votes, compiled by S. J. Folmesbee - -	223

Recent Happenings in the Social Studies, reported by W. G. Kimmel, 232; Book Reviews, edited by Prof. H. J. Carman, 236; Recent Historical Publications, listed by Dr. C. A. Coulomb, 245; Historical Articles in Current Periodicals, listed by Dr. L. F. Stock, 246.

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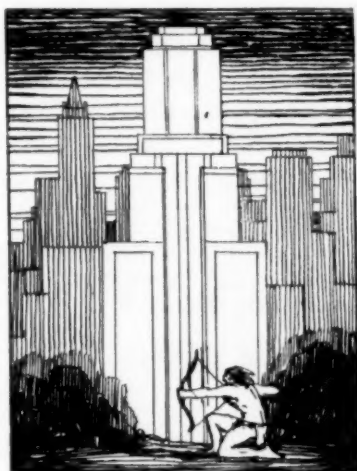
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The Courting of Dobroi Ivan, the Russian Peasant¹

BY PROFESSOR J. BARTLET BREBNER, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

One cannot remain long in Soviet Russia without having it forced upon one that the energies of the state are being directed with the utmost vigor to the securing of national economic self-sufficiency. A compromise has been made between the early Communistic program and present circumstances. After reducing the national economy almost to anarchy, the new state has fought its constructive way through doctrinaire disagreement and civil war within, through attack and counter-attack without and through famine and pestilence, to the quantitative production of 1913, and even beyond. The direction of the whole national economy, agricultural and industrial, is a department of the state, as are the controls of export and import trade. With the exception of agriculture, almost all production is carried out by state agencies. Again, with the exception of village barter, almost all buying and selling is in the hands of state or co-operative institutions. Prices are fixed by the state. This is possible in a land where imports from abroad are allowed not to compete with, but in moderation to fill gaps in, the national economy, and where exports are confined to raw materials like oil, timber, and fur, or to agricultural products which can compete successfully abroad because labor is so cheap at home.

But self-sufficiency entails not so much the further discovery and exploitation of the immensely rich and varied natural resources of Russia as the intense stimulation of her industries, and their extension to provide all but a few manufactured products, such as costly and intricate machinery or other complex and expensive articles for which there is at present a limited but important use. At present capital is being poured into the basic coal and steel industries to raise them from their low efficiency in order to provide more cheaply for the dependent industries, which range from munition factories to those for agricultural implements. The next objective is likely to be the reorganization of the textile industry and, granted political stability and economic success, there is to be a continuous process of economic regeneration and creation.

Meanwhile, the people of Russia are paying a stiff price in privation for the success of the program. In order that their country may as soon as possible be in a position to ask favors from no other, and, like

the United States, have the wealth to purchase such necessities as rubber in foreign markets, the Russian people are doing without luxuries and are paying rather high prices for manufactured goods of indifferent quality. Indeed, throughout the country there is a considerable famine of goods, which could, but will not, be satisfied by letting down the barriers to a flood of goods from abroad. The workers strengthen their sinews with the thought that what goods there are available are more evenly distributed than under the old régime and that privation now means strength to come. The leaders appeal to a consciousness of virtue to be derived from something like present economic equality and from the belief that it is better to exploit one's self for future benefit than be exploited by a foreigner.

So, it comes about, that when one talks to industrial workers or to the directors of the national economy the language is like that of manufacturers and business men everywhere else in the world. Interest lies in factory routing, continuous assembly, "Americanization," even "Fordization." It all seems a little strange in a country presumably so different from the giant of modern industrial technique, the United States. What is the meaning of the talk of costs and profits, and piecework and incentives, and increased production in an economy which ten years ago proposed to abolish money and escape from bourgeois concepts? A thorough answer to that question would require a separate volume. A brief answer can be given without too great abuse of truth. The Communistic Elysium has been postponed to take a place in time appropriate to the actual present condition of Russia and to the steps necessary to make Russia secure and independent. Meanwhile, the hope is cherished that the final coping stones of the Communistic edifice may be put in place at a later date without political danger or a loss of the social benefits which are already so highly prized.

One explanation of the change lies in the character of Russia, particularly of European Russia, which, though only 21 per cent. in area, contains 84 per cent. of the population of the whole Union. European Russia is a great featureless plain of much farmland and few cities. In it seven out of eight men are peasants and of these there are about as many as there are people in the United States.

That condition was revealed in the fact that there were two revolutions in 1917. The better advertised was one made and guided by the urban proletariat.

¹ A paper read before the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, at Atlantic City, November 26, 1927.

It secured political power, destroyed the rival classes, and seized their property. It made peace, defended the truncated fatherland and set blithely about putting into instant execution the system which a more cautious Marx had indicated might be attained only after a long process of time. The period of "war communism" (1917-1921) was an attempt to telescope in time the Marxian calendar, an attempt clouded and confused by the necessity of subordinating almost all activity to the task of repelling attacks from abroad and securing unity within.

Meanwhile, the second revolution had occurred, almost unnoticed abroad, and had effected something very like a permanent change, a sort of climax in the long struggle upward of the Russian peasantry. While Bolsheviks in the cities argued and frantically organized, almost mad with a mixture of new doctrine and responsibility, the peasants ejected the landlords, seized the lands, and destroyed the records of their tenurial and financial dependence. They then salvaged all the productive machinery they could, guarded it and their new-won lands most jealously, and in an inconspicuous manner hammered out as equitable a distribution of property as they could among themselves. They had plenty of worries in the attentions of Red and White and foreign armies and probably they were almost unconscious of the fact that their revolution had given them a somewhat more real mastery of Russia than the spectacular explosions in Leningrad and Moscow.

Their mastery became obvious when the government began to run short of bodily sustenance for its workers, whether in factories or offices or armies. It tried to secure peasant contributions for the mere subsistence of its experiment by the propaganda of its political and social doctrines. When that and paper money failed, it tried force. The peasants on the whole preferred the Whites, at least until the latter were seen to be landlords unchanged. The next steps were resistance to, or conversion of, the Red Army detachments which had been sent to confiscate. Another obvious rejoinder was the limitation of planting to areas sufficient only for local needs. The combination of these policies was sufficient to embarrass the cities and the government to the point of a change in policy. In 1921 Lenin swung Russia back to a gold money economy and from that time to this the greatest single problem of the administration, or at least the factor which has to be given major consideration in almost every decision of policy, has been the economic relation of worker and peasant.

In 1917 most foreigners were astounded by the Bolshevik proposal to make an agricultural country into a Marxian Paradise. It seemed like imposing Trade Unionism on South Sea Islanders. Time has shown that their amazement was justified. Not only have the peasants remained petty capitalists, but their mere passivity has diluted urban Marxism to Leninism and Stalinism. Yet it would be a very great mistake to suppose that the obvious failure and the present compromise necessarily betoken complete defeat. Perhaps they do. Time must be called upon to decide. But at present there is in Russia no con-

fession of defeat, but rather a tremendous determination to force an affirmative answer to the two questions: (1) Can the peasants be made to produce more for national use? (2) Can they be socialized? This is the courting of Dobroi Ivan for the lawful and lasting matrimony of Worker and Peasant under the aegis of Hammer and Sickle.

Before abandoning the allegory it should be said that Ivan has a satisfying spouse in Dame Conservatism, and she has lulled him into a tradition of behavior and usage from which only a determined and seductive rival can win him. The Russian plain is a sermon in sameness. Even its great rivers have dug themselves deep clefts in the soil and thus hidden their almost immutable courses from view. There are a few locomotives to trace a light skeleton of traffic north and south and east and west, but one feels that they might easily be blown from their right of way by any one of the solid and pauseless winds that flatten presumptuous obstacles to their unbroken sweep. There are myriads of road-spaces, but almost no real roads, and even the road-spaces sometimes disappear beneath the plough. The organization of rural society and economy is, with one exception, a living demonstration of what Western Europe practiced in the middle ages. The student of medieval history can here find the manorial and village systems, little changed except that the castles and manor houses and monasteries have either been wiped off the slate or converted to social purposes of the state. The peasants live in compact villages and go out each morning with tools and animals to work the strips in an open-field system of a simple, probably triennial rotation, on land which extends perhaps as much as ten miles until it meets the lands of surrounding villages. In spite of nomadic tendencies, which still reveal themselves in the groups met traveling on holidays by cart along the roads or in the "camping" population of any railroad station, peasant life is *village* life broken only by occasional visits to towns and shrines and, very rarely, to cities. This is the economy and society which it is proposed to galvanize to consciousness of, or at least a great rôle in, the program of the Union of Socialist Republics.

Interestingly enough, there are some striking combinations of ends and means in the dual attempt to socialize and to increase productivity, just as there are dangers that an increase in any productivity by appeal to personal acquisitiveness will tend toward individual rather than social wealth. It is obvious, for instance, that if a higher agricultural efficiency is to be secured by communal field operations by machinery, the process involves social action which can be given a socialistic rather than an individualistic container, let us say, in the form of an agricultural co-operative. In the same way, if greater crop yields with less expense for fertilization can be derived from a seven-year than a three-year rotation of crops and if such a rotation needs an area nearer to that of village than of individual lands, it may be possible to socialize a village into a single buying, operative, and selling institution. Such lessons learnt locally might

with dexterity become an effective analogy for a socialized nation. Some such creed, stimulated strongly by the urgent need, not only of sustenance, but of surplus for national capital increase, seems to be the actuating force behind the present governmental policy.

Aside from all other considerations, it is a gallant task to attempt the wholesale conversion and education of a hundred and twenty million peasants, particularly when the financial means are scanty. Some of the equipment is an inheritance from the old régime. Some of it, such as country houses, monasteries, and well-equipped farm establishments, has been diverted from private to public use. Much has been added to these foundations. Although there is no Commissar for Agriculture for the whole Union and each of the six Allied Republics directs its own agricultural program, there is for the whole of European Russia, at least, a series of comprehensive directorships which are partially co-ordinated by the national economic plan (Gosplan) for agriculture. The working apparatus is a combination of well-known schemes with some notable local adaptations. Thus there are agricultural colleges in many centers and, while they train actual and potential farmers, their greater task is the education of agronomes, or agricultural civil servants, who go out to the countryside to live there and assist the peasants in improving their cultures. Originally of uneven quality, this small army of men is not only being steadily augmented, but its members are being graded according to their capacity, and where necessary withdrawn for further education. Similarly, there are between sixty and seventy government experimental stations (both for field and animal cultures) in the Union and not only are the products of their research conveyed to the peasants by the agronomes, by poster propaganda, and by free excursions, but a new policy of setting up miniature experimental stations *in the villages* is being vigorously prosecuted. There are now 12,000 of these in the Ukraine, and the schedule for next year is 38,000. The general system is rounded out by animal breeding stations, tree and vine nurseries, apiaries, local stud depots, and stations for the distribution of standard seed. In quality and comprehensive character the whole apparatus is admirable by any standards, in its quantitative application it is among the world's most effective organizations of a similar sort.

As in all fields of endeavor in the new Russia the principal difficulties are financial, and this becomes particularly obvious when observation is directed to such problems as the introduction of power machinery or the gradual entry upon such an experiment as a seven-year rotation of crops. The Russian response to these problems is characteristic—state credit, and co-operative institutions. Thus a village, where two-thirds of the inhabitants are willing to change their method of cultivation, may have its lands resurveyed and reallocated on a basis suitable for large-field mechanical cultivation and a long rotation. Its members, or the members of any village, can organize in several kinds of co-operatives, i. e., for

purchase of machinery, stock, seed, or general commodities, for the reception of credit or for the organization of a local credit-granting institution, or for the sale of their surplus products in the outside markets. Every encouragement possible is given to such co-operatives and their increase in the last three years has been phenomenal, although Russia is so vast that as yet the traveler in country off the railroad lines has to keep his eyes open to discover many traces of the consequent change. At the same time consistent precautions are taken to prevent the growth of class divisions among the peasants on the basis of gradation in wealth. Thus credit is free to very poor peasants and they are not taxed, whereas the richer pay handsomely (in fact, at a rate which it seems they can hardly afford) for their borrowings and are much more heavily taxed. Another example of discrimination is such a local regulation as that a group which wishes credit for the purchase of a tractor must contain at least fifteen "poor" peasants. Agricultural news from Russia seldom gets into the foreign press, but at every annual Congress of Soviets since 1923 agricultural relief and credits have played so large a part that they have crowded their way into most of the out-going press reports. The whole movement has recently received additional publicity from the fact that it has developed into one of the principal issues between the Stalin group and the Trotsky opposition in the Communist Party. The recent defeat of the latter presumably entails the defeat of their proposals for a "forced loan" of grain from the peasants (who are accused of hoarding) and a revision of peasant taxation designed to diminish their alleged tendencies toward recreation of a landed bourgeoisie.

Space does not permit the mention or discussion here of a large number of conditioning and even contradictory circumstances affecting the process which has been merely outlined above. It must be sufficient to say that it is going on, is steadily increasing, and steadily improving in quality. Yet, if the peasant could be consulted, he would almost inevitably declare that his problem was not one of the production of enough food for himself and his family, or even of a saleable surplus (this averages about 20 per cent. of his crop). That he can manage and does. On an average he is himself consuming as much grain as he did before the war, but is beginning to use some wheat flour instead of confining himself to rye. He is using about the same amount of butter, but he eats about 8 per cent. more eggs, 15 per cent. more meat, and 43 per cent. more milk. Moreover, his land is now his own as long as he uses it and he no longer pays rent. It has been computed that before the revolution peasant rents amounted to two hundred million dollars annually. A computed seven hundred million dollars of debts also disappeared with the revolution. The average annual tax rate per person was \$5.06 and is now \$3.96. Yet in spite of these obvious advantages and the policy of governmental assistance, the peasant faces one perpetual problem in the disparity between the prices he receives for his

products and those he must pay for manufactured articles.

This difficulty has received some publicity abroad because it is a difficulty which loomed large everywhere in the years of economic readjustment after the war. Everywhere the farmer found himself at a great disadvantage as a result of a sudden change in the relation between agricultural and industrial prices, to which the nature of his occupation and financing allowed him very slowly to accommodate himself. Moreover, Trotsky summarized the situation in a vivid, if somewhat inappropriate, phrase by calling it *The Scissors*, and some of the endless discussion and dialectic in Russia which has centered about "closing *The Scissors*" has found its way abroad. It has not always been realized, however, that the Russian apparatus for remedying the disparity is radically different from any other in the world. In Russia the government sets prices, and in Russia, within certain limits, the government has not hesitated to hammer down the prices of industrial goods and raise those of agricultural products. It has been engaged in this activity for the last four years and while it has not been by any means continuously successful, its performance since December, 1926, has resulted in small, but quite perceptible "closing of *The Scissors*." The peasants' great complaint has been heard and the situation improved to the point of his being probably only slightly worse off, so far as quantity is concerned, than in 1913. The quality, however, is undoubtedly worse and needs to be improved.

Two features of this situation must be mentioned, even if there is not space for detailed discussion. The first is peasant self-sufficiency. The average peasant markets only 20 per cent. of his annual produce, and spends about 60 per cent. of the return from this on textiles. It is apparent that even in a land of "goods famine" his "hunger" for goods is narrowly confined. Consequently, even if the present industrial equipment of Russia could satisfy more than existing demands, there is plenty of scope for the awakening of the peasant to new "wants" and for consequent increase of production to satisfy them. At present his demands are much less diverse than those of the factory workers and one of the reasons for this is undoubtedly the extensive home handicraft (*Kustarny*) industry. This activity was deliberately discouraged in the days of War Communism and suffered also from lack of certain necessary outside supplies. As a germ of bourgeois economy it is still suspect among old orthodox Communists. Nevertheless, it is now carried on in greater volume than in 1913 and there is no question but that its varied products (cloth, leather, pottery, carpentry, etc.) are a considerable element in local barter of agricultural products and that this helps to diminish the total of foodstuffs reaching the general market. It is known, for instance, that the revenue from finished products sold by certain groups of "*Kustarny*" co-operatives is less than the cost of raw materials bought by them. All that the government seems assured enough to do

at present is to encourage co-operation in home industry. In this it has been quite successful.

The second feature referred to above is the general economic validity of price fixing, which in Russia is inevitably to some degree irrespective of production costs and can, thanks to state control of exports and imports, be nominally independent of world prices. The character of this issue can best be indicated by pointing to the outstanding conditioning circumstances. The most notable of these in relation to manufactured articles is unquestionably the success or failure in securing sufficient capital equipment and enlarging production sufficiently to make Russian industry much more efficient in production costs than it is at present. This process is, of course, greatly facilitated by the state-wide economic plan (*Gosplan*) and control of nearly all large industry. Capital can be secured, as suggested, by the sale abroad of such raw materials as oil, timber, fur, and surplus agricultural produce. It is not present policy to permit any wholesale introduction of it by foreign concessionaires, although many separate instances can be given. Some Russian industries operate at a profit, and the practice is to invest this in those which do not, as well as to seize the opportunity for a useful reduction in prices. It might be added that State direction of industry eliminates for immediate purposes the possibility that arbitrarily lowered prices will result in cessation of production.

The most notable circumstances in relation to prices for agricultural products are the low standard of living and the fertility of the "black soil" regions, which, together, permit so low a production cost that most of the products of Russian farm land can compete successfully in foreign markets in spite of poor agricultural technique and poor transportation. As yet the problem of agricultural surplus and its depressing effect on internal prices is not a Russian one. If Russia can be made more productive she will become more wealthy, at least until the real wages of her peasants greatly raise production costs. Moreover, a comparison of present prices in Russia with those outside reveals that it is still possible to raise the peasant's remuneration by a small amount (varying with the commodities) without rendering an export trade in farm products unprofitable to the state. On the whole, however, if *The Scissors* are to close further, most of the movement must come from reduced prices for manufactured articles.

It is possible to round out this general sketch by mention of one promising development now in progress, and of one difficulty which seems likely to increase in intensity. The former is the intelligent encouragement of industries which are secondary to agriculture in that they depend on it for their raw materials, or encourage diversity of farm cultures, or both. Such industries are refrigeration plants, slaughter houses, meat-packing houses, butter and cheese factories, soap and leather works, canneries, sugar refineries, flour mills, distilleries, and wineries. The Russian combination of planning nationally both the industrial and the agricultural economy has

strikingly revealed their interdependence and the lesson has not been lost. In fact, it might be said that much of the enthusiasm and capital which in an earlier period of the revolution were being devoted to overly ambitious schemes of electrification are now being turned to the erection of more immediately productive institutions like bacon factories and creameries. This development is encouraging, and being encouraged by, the parallel policy of intensification and diversification of agriculture. An example can be seen in the use of maize as a year's crop in the new long rotations. Russian peasants do not take kindly to corn-meal, but Russian pigs will eat corn, and Russian cattle corn silage. A further step which has barely begun is the operation of factories which turn this grain into cornstarch and corn syrup.

The difficulty which shows no sign of diminution is the one which is perhaps least likely to occur to a foreigner—the overcrowded condition of rural European Russia. At present this is revealed in the small size of individual land holdings, in spite of the confiscation of the large estates and the general fairly equitable redivision. It receives additional emphasis from the high Russian birth-rate. It is, of course, most notable on the most fertile lands, as for example, the Ukraine, where the average density is 164 persons per square mile, with considerably higher concentrations in its most favorable areas. An additional consideration is that mechanization of farming means the setting free and probably the economic dislodgment of a large number of workers now actively engaged in the more primitive and more time-consuming agricultural methods. What is to happen to them? There is already a movement to the cities which may possibly have some relation to present rural overcrowding. Even granting that there be no increase in this migration, industrial unemployment is already a serious problem in Russia and the authorities concerned hold out small hopes of its early appreciable diminution. Here is another imperative reason for keeping Dobroi Ivan contented in his village. At present the scanty resources of the republics allow little more than the relief of overcrowded villages by the creation of new ones in nearby unoccupied or thinly occupied land. This is usually likely to suffer from some climatic or other handicap, but in the Ukraine, for instance, 120,000 families have been established in 3,000 new villages. It would seem, however, that something more radical is necessary, and the probability is that there must be a migration following the famous black soil as it swings around the lower end of the Ural Mountains into Asia. Empty and fertile Siberia must be colonized as the American prairies were colonized last century and somewhere the money must be found to build the necessary railways.

To sum up then, it can be said that the revolution is still going on in Russia and that, while its Urban leaders state that they have abandoned any immediate prospect of a Communistic state, they insist that they have merely postponed it, and they are endeavoring constantly to move towards its accomplishment

by progressive socialization of Russia and increase of its self-sufficiency without treason to their basic principles. Clearly their greatest task is the conversion of the peasant, not only for the sake of inner harmony and solidarity in the progress to Communism, but for the sake of the sustenance of their state and the growth of its capital resources. The urban worker is enjoying a very considerable improvement of his status. The peasant can set against it on his own account his possession of his land and his greater freedom from debt and taxes. Neither can he fail to be aware of the interest taken in him by the government, however much he may chafe at the quantity and quality of manufactured goods. On the whole Dobroi Ivan is being actively courted and presumably he is slightly aware of it no matter how volubly he protests. He has a tendency to hoard grain, particularly when his village radio announces daily the imminent likelihood of a war with "perfidious Albion," and this occasionally brings him into conflict with tax collectors and inquisitive agricultural authorities.

The total situation resolves itself into an equilibrium between the energy behind the Communist program and that behind the natural petty capitalism of the peasants, the whole being conditioned by the fact that agriculture is the basic economy of Russia. Urban and governmental self-consciousness enjoys certain obvious advantages over its peasant equivalent, and other things being equal, the worker might and does exploit those advantages. But other things are not equal. Seven men out of eight live in the villages and possess the national food supply. Stimulation of peasant economic consciousness for the purpose of increased production, means some sort of an increase in general self-consciousness. There is the recognized possibility that self-consciousness may be made to contribute to the designs of the governors by enclosing it in collective economic enterprises, by accompanying it with increased political practice, and by bringing strong supporting influences to bear through the educational institutions. One can speculate almost infinitely on what the future holds and this aspect of it in Russia is of paramount interest. One can, however, probably be certain of only one thing—Dobroi Ivan is not being neglected.

N. B. For specific corroboration and statistical support of the summary statements in this paper, the reader is referred to the forthcoming (John Day Co.) reports of the technical advisors who accompanied the unofficial delegation of American Trade Unionists to Russia in the summer of 1927. Their manuscript reports have been freely drawn upon, in particular that of Professor R. G. Tugwell on agriculture. The writer's own experience was acquired from traveling 4,000 miles by rail, and 1,500 miles by motor car in European Russia, chiefly in the Ukrainian Republic. He enjoyed the fullest co-operation of the authorities, who placed no obstacle whatever in the way of his going where he wished and questioning anyone he met.

Federal Governmental Propaganda in Great Britain During the American Civil War

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I. SEMI- AND QUASI-OFFICIAL PROPAGANDA

President Lincoln realized, probably from the beginning of the Civil War, that "the favor or disfavor of foreign nations might have material influence in enlarging and prolonging the struggle."¹ The executive department at Washington had abundant opportunity, through the State officials abroad, private foreign correspondence, and foreign journals, to be impressed with the need of activity, particularly in building English popular favor. W. H. Russell, the correspondent sent to America by the *London Times* in 1861, shocked the Washington government by the impression he gave the English reading public of unfavorable conditions and prospects in the North. In July the *Times*, with a large American circulation, told England that the American Union had "collapsed," and that the fall was due to the inherent weakness of democracy.²

The regular officials of the diplomatic and consular service, though interested in propaganda, were much limited in their freedom to engage in it. They were hemmed in by the regulations and customs of office. Therefore, in "October, 1861, it was deemed important by the administration that some gentlemen of intelligence and experience, possessing a good knowledge of all the circumstances preceding and accompanying the rebellion, should be sent abroad to disabuse the public mind, especially in England and France, where numerous and active agents of secession and rebellion had been at work...." Thurlow Weed, who had long been editor of the *Albany Evening Journal*, Whig and later Republican official paper of New York, happened to be in Washington, and Seward told him that Edward Everett, of Boston; J. P. Kennedy, of Baltimore; Archbishop John Hughes, Catholic of New York, and Bishop Charles P. McIlvaine, Episcopal, of Ohio, had been asked to go. ("Their actual expenses, only," were to be paid.) The first two had declined. Weed suggested two others to Seward, who said he would immediately suggest their names to the President and cabinet. That evening, Archbishop Hughes, who was in Washington, gave notice that he would not go; but finally he consented, providing Weed would go also. Weed consented. Seward at first hesitated to send Weed, because, though a supporter and friend of Seward, Weed had become very unpopular in Washington. Seward met the "Commissioners" in New York two days before their sailing, notified a group of interested friends that Weed was going "voluntarily and at his own expense." Mr. R. B. Minturn, of New York, who heard Seward say this, privately handed Weed \$1,000.00 and promised to pay all his expenses in England. Seward, however, changed his mind and sent Weed full credentials, by special

messenger, including, Weed says, a "letter to Earl Russell, accrediting me unofficially to the English government," and a letter to Charles Francis Adams, besides other letters.³

The party sailed November 8th and 9th from New York. Thurlow Weed, accompanied by General Winfield Scott, who had resigned his army commission and had been invited to "act with" the commission, took one ship to France; the two churchmen another. They reached Havre about November 24th and proceeded to Paris. Archbishop Hughes entered upon his work on the Continent.⁴

Only a day or two after these commissioners reached Paris, the news of the Trent affair reached England and France, and caused intense excitement throughout both countries. A French republican legislator, M. Pages, asked John Bigelow, United States Consul at Paris, to write a public letter of reassurance in order to check the intemperate expressions on both sides the channel. Bigelow, as an American official, did not feel free to write it over his own signature. Instead he requested Weed to persuade General Scott, then confined with gout, to revise and sign the letter, which Bigelow would write. He wrote it at once; Weed secured Scott's consent; Scott signed without alteration. Bigelow managed to publish it the next day, December 2d, in several French papers, and Weed hurried to London, where copies of the letter were run in the *Times*, *News*, *Star*, and *Telegraph*.⁵ Coming from General Scott, who had so recently "been practically a member of the Federal cabinet, it had an immediate and reassuring effect."⁶

A few days later General Scott re-embarked for New York, so that in case of war with England he could aid in the defense of New York City. Bishop McIlvaine went to England and co-operated with Weed in his propaganda program. Late in January, 1862, we find him laboring in London (though Weed had returned temporarily to Paris), and he was enjoying the most cordial relations with C. F. Adams.⁷

Weed's program of labors for himself and associates included "contributions to newspapers, speeches even to the most restricted audiences....to gain time, increase the number of those who oppose European intervention in our affairs, and procure takers for....national bonds."⁸ In London, he immediately "investigated the various phases of attitude toward America,—the Queen, the bankers, and public men particularly," and on December 8th he wrote to John Bigelow interpreting the popular feeling toward America.⁹

Weed had felt some uneasiness that C. F. Adams might regard "the semi-official mission" as "unnecessary interference with his legitimate functions." But

on his first day there, Adams invited him to the legation, and he went at once. Weed found Adams so cordial that he forgot even to hand the Minister the letter from the Secretary of State. Adams expressed his readiness to co-operate with Bishop McIlvaine and Mr. Weed to "disabuse the English mind," and promised to obtain an audience for Weed with Earl Russell and Lord Palmerston.¹⁰

On the next morning, however, an Englishman, McCullagh Torrens, found Weed and arranged his visit to Russell, at Pembroke Lodge, the next day. He went, and talked with Russell alone, arguing for the North; and was informed by Lady Russell that the sympathies of the Queen were with the North, and she would do all possible to prevent war with America.¹¹

After this the Adams family refer to Weed always cordially and appreciatively. C. F. Adams, Jr., says he "made himself of use....and relations of a most friendly and lasting character grew up between him and Mr. Adams"—the Minister.¹² Henry Adams, his father's secretary in England, developed a great admiration for the "semi-official commissioner." He wrote to his brother, C. F. Adams, Jr., that he had tried to be of use to Weed, that he watched and admired him, visited the House of Commons with him, and rushed to Weed's hotel with the latest news from the American war. He also reported Weed "organizing our forces" and extending the "organization in our branch of the press....rapidly," and doing things that they of the Legation could not risk doing.¹³ C. F. Adams, the Minister, writing to his son, refers to "our friend Mr. Thurlow Weed with all his sagacity," "Thurlow Weed with whom I compare notes," and, on May 22, 1862, "Thurlow Weed....is very popular. I am sorry he is going home. We all like Mr. Weed...."¹⁴ C. F. Adams, Jr., then an officer in the Union army, wrote on April 11, 1862, that he was "astonished" at the intimacy of "the Puritan and the New York politician," that, though one "laughs" at it, he is "glad of it."¹⁵

William M. Evarts, head of the New York bar, and later a special commissioner to England, refers in a letter of February 2, 1862, to Weed's "continued and useful labors for his country," in England, including his "published letters."¹⁶ Among these published letters was a long one to the *London Times*, dated December 12, published December 14, 1861. It follows up the Winfield Scott letter with further discussion of the Trent affair. Then it seeks to correct the impression prevalent in England of Seward's unfriendly intentions and feelings toward England. The *Times* published the letter in full, but replied in the same issue, presenting the English view.¹⁷ Another of Weed's published letters appeared in the *London Star and Dial*, December 13, 1861, assuring that General Scott, now on his way to New York, had not been called back.¹⁸ Among his other letters to newspapers was one published in the *London Globe* about the end of December, answering a published secessionist letter of Lieutenant M. F. Mawry, a

Confederate officer, an able scientist formerly of the United States navy.¹⁹

Public speaking seems not to have had a large place in the activities of this commission. Near the close of 1861 Mr. Arthur Kinnaid and his wife gave a reception at their London residence in order to give Weed and Bishop McIlvaine a chance to speak for the Union before several gentlemen prominent in English politics and society.²⁰ The intention, however, seems to have been for the commissioners to work secretly as far as possible.²¹ Weed returned to New York in June, 1862.²²

After Weed returned home he continued his interest in English propaganda. That autumn, 1862, he urged Andrew D. White to go. White was a young man of New York who had been doing strenuous and very valuable work as professor of history and English literature in the University of Michigan. He had resigned and returned to New York with the idea of travelling for his health. Weed, a friend of his father, told him of the good he could do abroad, and said: "You can work in the same line with Archbishop Hughes, Bishop McIlvaine and myself." Then he outlined to White his propaganda program.²³ The young man consented to go, and embarked for London in the spring of 1863.

In London, "in order to ascertain public sentiment" he "visited certain 'discussion forums'....frequented by contributors to the press and young lawyers from the Temple and Inns of Court." Here there were debates nearly every night, and generally "upon the struggle going on in the United States." He says, "Excellent speeches were frequently made, and there was a pleasure in doing my share in getting the company on the right side...."

He was active as a writer during his six months abroad.²⁴ What he considered his main work in London was his preparing a pamphlet, "A Word from the North-West in answer to the letters from America by Dr. Russell, correspondent of the *London Times*." White says, "Though nominally on our side, he clearly....wrote....to suit" the *Times*, "which was most bitterly opposed to us....I, therefore, prepared, with special care, an answer to these letters of Dr. Russell, and published it in London."

White also visited Dublin and met Mr. John Elliot Cairnes, the political economist, who had earnestly written in behalf of the Union. In London he was associated with Professor William B. Carpenter, Registrar of the University of London, an eminent physiologist and an anti-slavery agitator. He passed on to Germany, and at Frankfort-on-the-Main, he and Consul General W. W. Murphy, of that place, held a Fourth of July celebration, and delivered orations before the British tourists there.²⁵

Another very effective authorized propagandist in England was Honorable Robert James Walker, Counsellor-at-Law in the United States Supreme Court, late United States Senator, Secretary of the Treasury, Commissioner to China, and Governor of Kansas. He was sent abroad early in 1863,²⁶ as agent of the Treasury Department at Washington.

He sold a very large number of the 5-20 bonds, and prevented the sale of much of the second issue of Confederate bonds. In 1863 and 1864, he wrote extensively in England. He issued pamphlets which, by March, 1864, had been published, bound together in two series, called "American Slavery and Finance."

Two of these pamphlets, dated July 1, and 30, 1863, are entitled "Jefferson Davis; Repudiation, Recognition, and Slavery." The first answers a letter from John Slidell in the *London Times*, March 23d. It and the second show the President of the Confederacy in a very bad light as having repeatedly favored repudiation of Mississippi state bonds, while he was United States Senator. His character thus revealed was argued to harmonize with his attitude toward secession and slavery. There are many definite citations, and Walker recalls that Davis used strong language against the *London Times* when involved in Mississippi repudiation, in 1849. Another pamphlet, dated January 28, 1864, on "Jefferson Davis and Repudiation of the Arkansas Bonds," shows "from public documents, that Jefferson Davis volunteered to sustain her (Arkansas) in the repudiation of her state bonds." Five others of the pamphlets are "letters," each with long appendices, on "American Finances and Resources." They are dated August 8, October 8, and December 3, 1863, and January 1, and February 8, 1864. Another of the pamphlets reports a Thanksgiving celebration on November 26, 1863, with Walker as chairman. It was held at St. James' Hall, London. Walker spoke on the American situation, before a large number of Americans and Englishmen. He then introduced C. F. Adams, three American army or navy officers, and some Englishmen as the other speakers. Much enthusiasm for America was developed.

Walker crossed the channel to and from Paris, wrote for magazines, was everywhere very highly regarded, and his publicity work produced very notable results.²⁷

During the greater part of the war period the Washington government had other agents, temporarily appointed, in England, serving under the State Department and supplementing the regular diplomatic and consular officials. Several of these were sent, like Walker, on some definite task other than propaganda, and their publicity work for the Union was a secondary, though no less serious, activity. As early as December, 1861, we find J. M. Forbes, of Boston, and W. H. Aspinwall, of New York, there to try to buy for the Union the privateers being built for the Confederate states.²⁸ They were still there in May, 1863. With them was William M. Evarts,²⁹ an expert in international law, sent as State Department emissary "to act under Adams in connection with the emission of armed vessels."³⁰ He was head of the New York bar, and a close friend of Seward, having proposed Seward's name for the presidency in the 1860 convention. He was sent to England early in 1863, re-embarked for New York, July 17, and started back to England December 30, 1863.³¹ Cobden says, contemporaneously, that he "is the

'right man in the right place'....mixing very freely in a social way....Everybody speaks of him with great respect."³² He visited Cambridge University, and other places, with the Adams's and the Minister compliments his public speaking.³³

By 1863, however, C. F. Adams felt that the sending of government authorized emissaries was being overdone. They arrived in quick succession, and naturally the newspapers of Confederate leanings got scent of their missions and set to work to make trouble. A correspondent of the *London Standard* reported that eight more government agents were immediately to follow Forbes, Aspinwall, and Evarts, to "regulate affairs abroad, and," he added, "Mr. Adams is ordered to be their mouthpiece." He called Adams "stupid," as compared with the Confederate agents, and said that Seward had lost confidence in him.³⁴ Adams wrote at that time: "...ever since I have been here the almost constant interference of government agents of all kinds has had the effect, however intended, of weakening the position of the Minister. Most of all has it happened in the case of Mr. Evarts....[who]....the newspapers have insisted, was sent to superintend my office."³⁵

This situation, however, was evidently not due to any fault of Mr. Evarts. The chief irritating factors seem to have been the many lesser men who came with authority, or pretended authority. Henry Adams, in letters to America, mentions, on May 1, 1863, being surrounded by "assistants";³⁶ on May 8th, having "a complete cabinet of Ministerial advisers and assistants";³⁷ and on September 16th, "other supernumerary diplomats."³⁸ C. F. Adams, Jr., calls them "other diplomats, roving, poaching, and volunteer." He reports: "They were officious, they meddled, and they were to the last degree indiscreet. They were particularly addicted to the columns of the *Times*....but not always did they confine themselves to ill-conceived letter writing, or mere idle talk."³⁹ The Adams family, from whatever motives, treated Evarts with much regard. Henry Adams wrote his brother, "I do not much neglect opportunities to conciliate men like him (Evarts), like Seward, and like Weed." He reports his little excursions for Evarts' pleasure, and their "confidential conversation";⁴⁰ and his father reports a holiday outing for Evarts' entertainment.⁴¹

Before leaving the examination of propaganda backed by the Washington government, we may notice a few evidences of President Lincoln's own interest in pro-American publicity in England. In a letter to the Manchester workingmen, Lincoln begins by referring to the conditions when he became President in 1861. Then he continues: "I have been aware that favor or disfavor of foreign nations might have a material influence in enlarging and prolonging the struggle with disloyal men." But certain considerations induced him especially to expect that if justice and good faith should be practiced by the United States, they would encounter no hostile influence on the part of Great Britain."⁴² September 13, 1862, when referring to the Emancipation Proclama-

tion, he said: "...emancipation would help us in Europe, and convince them that we are incited by something more than ambition."⁴³

Lincoln favored an extensive participation in the Exhibition of the Products of Industry of all Nations, held at London in 1862. He recommended, July 16, 1862, that Congress pass legislation looking to such participation.⁴⁴ In his December message to Congress he emphasized the "proper representation of the industrial interests of the United States," at that exposition as "very important," and said that he had instructed the Secretaries of State and Interior to formulate plans.⁴⁵ There are other messages and references to chartering the ship for carrying the exhibits, etc.⁴⁶ The *London Quarterly Review*, of July, 1862, reports somewhat sensationally the United States exhibits. It refers to certain works of art, including "Story's Libyan Sibyl," which, the editor says "We should apprehend...a work conceived with the political aim of typifying the regeneration of the African race."⁴⁷ This all seems to point to a desire to influence exposition visitors for the North.

Lincoln wrote a letter, already referred to, of about 650 words to the Manchester workingmen January 19, 1863, and one, February 2d, to the London workingmen.⁴⁸ When these letters were published in England the lower classes must have been deeply impressed, not only with the sentiments, but also with the fact that the Chief Executive of a great nation had taken the trouble to write them at length.

II. PROPAGANDA BY REGULAR OFFICIALS

The United States government was supplied with a large force of propagandists, also, in the regular ranks of the diplomatic and consular service. Official position greatly limited freedom, but certainly did not prevent valuable activity. Each minister and attaché, and each consul, impelled by loyalty to his government and by the evident need around him, seems to have wrought "according to his several ability." John Bright refers to the many thus active.⁴⁹

Charles Francis Adams felt that the dignity of his position demanded extreme care in the matter of public speech and of his use of the public prints. In January, 1862, before the special agents had exhausted their welcome with Mr. Adams, his son writes: Mr. Weed "can do everything that we cannot do. A single blunder on our side that would bring the legation into discredit would spoil almost everything."⁵⁰ However, Mr. Adams was somewhat in demand as a speaker in defense of the Union. The *Times* published, without the usual unfavorable comment, a speech Mr. Adams made, about May 1, 1863, to a delegation of the trades unions.⁵¹ He spoke, also, before certain of the gowned fraternities at Cambridge.⁵² At Robert J. Walker's Thanksgiving program, St. James' Hall, November 26, 1863, he had the place of honor, and spoke on "The President of the United States."⁵³

Henry Adams, the Legation Secretary, was a more active propagandist. He was at first interested in

writing for the press. He writes to his brother, C. F., September 14, 1861, that he is "very likely to turn up in the lists" as a newspaper writer;⁵⁴ and, on November 7th, he writes his brother about becoming "a correspondent of some paper" in England, adding: "Every paper has one or more American correspondents."⁵⁵ A little later he received a shock. He had begun publishing, anonymously, a "Diary" in the *Manchester Courier*. One day the *Courier* "put his name to" his contribution. He informs his brother: "To my immense astonishment and dismay, I found myself parsed through whole columns of the *Times*, and I am laughed at by all England." He was evidently contributing extensively, for he continues, "for the present I shall cease my other writings as I am in agonies for fear they should be exposed." Then he asks his brother to write one of the journals why the "London correspondent" has stopped.⁵⁶ On January 22, 1862, he refers to the experience, saying: "The *Times* gently skinned me and the *Examiner* scalped me with considerable savageness."⁵⁷ January 31st, he writes: "I have wholly changed my system, and having given up all direct communication with the public, am engaged in stretching my private correspondence as far as possible. This I hope to do to some purpose, and with luck I may make as much headway so, as I could in any other way."⁵⁸

Of all the State Department officials abroad, probably the most active propagandist was John Bigelow, consul at Paris till 1864, then in charge of the Paris legation. A literary man by nature, he wrote voluminously in defense of the Union, and much from his pen was published in England. As already noted he wrote the letter, credited to General Scott, which was published simultaneously in three English dailies with the purpose of pacifying the English public in the Trent crisis. A month later, the Confederate agents, disappointed that the Trent seizure had not caused war, urged other reasons for English intervention such as the "barbarous blockade" of Charleston harbor. Bigelow, "in order to put the statesmen of England on their guard against giving any encouragement to this stupid cry," prepared a letter and had it published in the "official organ of the government," the *Morning Post*. The letter, dated, January 16, 1862, covers six octavo pages. It gives notice that any act by England or France to break up the Charleston blockade will occasion war. It justifies at length the method of the blockade, by fact, argument, and citations from recent English and French authorities; and shows the complaint to be only a pretext to force England into the war. Then it discusses what the consequences of such a war would necessarily be for England, concluding with the suggestion that England could not fight a war with America and hold a controlling position in Europe. The final thrust is an unfriendly passage quoted from the "Idees Napoléoniennes," by Napoleon III.⁵⁹

Besides these and other published letters, Bigelow carried on a large English correspondence on the American war with leading men, Bright, Cobden,

William Hargreaves, and others.⁶⁰ He wrote, in French, an extended description of the United States, contrasting the resources of the North and the South, and showing the advisability to Europe of friendship for the North. It was published in book form, entitled "Les Etats-Unis d' Amerique en 1863," and found its way to England. He was requested to circulate it, in English translation, but, possibly on account of Robert J. Walker's similar work, he did not do it at that time.⁶¹

Bigelow made long visits to London, called upon Bright, Cobden, William H. Russell and other prominent Englishmen, "mixed among the people" and "picked up some gossip" of interest to Seward. He proposed that Seward send to the consuls, information concerning bounties paid to volunteers, for use in inducing immigration.⁶²

J. Lathrop Motley, who went as minister to Vienna in 1861, passed through England. He was greatly "incensed to find the English people taking sides with the South," and he wrote two long letters to the *Times*, attempting to make clear to Englishmen the nature and condition of our complex government, the real cause of the war, and the issues at stake. These were written from the historian's point of view, and they made a deep impression on England.⁶³ In December, 1861, Motley wrote to Bigelow about conditions in England, and told of the semi-official government agents there.⁶⁴ In January, 1863, Bigelow wrote to Motley, suggesting that he visit England. Motley replied that he doubted "if Adams would like it....He is very able," Motley continued, "and might think me meddlesome."⁶⁵

Another literary American in a consular position was William James Stillman, author and artist. He went as United States Consul to Rome in 1861. He was a regular correspondent, from Rome, of John Bright's paper, the *London Star*.⁶⁶

Another appointee of the State Department who kept an earnest eye on England was Henry S. Sanford, first the Secretary of Legation at Paris, then, during most of the war period, diplomatic representative at Brussels. "Mr. Sanford was exceedingly zealous to serve his government," and because of the serious situation in England his interest was attracted there. His "great activity, resulting from his temperament and enthusiasm for the Union cause, was sometimes mistaken for officiousness. It offended Mr. Adams."⁶⁷

Of the work done by consular officials in England, little information is available. We may well suppose that they did much secretly, as Henry Adams attempted to do. They were not literary men, who would be expected to leave evidences of their activity. An interesting story of one of these consuls is told by Thurlow Weed. In 1861, before Weed went on his mission to England he visited Seward to ask for a consular appointment for a friend of one of his friends in New York. Seward ran down the list and found that a man named Fox, at Falmouth, was one of the oldest in point of service. He gave Weed an order for Fox's removal and the appointment of the

New Yorker. Lincoln approved the order. But when Weed went to the clerk to have the order executed, the clerk, much affected, told him that, during a long period of years, no consul had been so prompt, so accurate and satisfactory, or so neat in his reports, as had the aged Mr. Fox. Weed promptly destroyed the order. The next year Weed saw Fox in England and told him of his narrow escape from losing office. Fox said that "it was not so much for the emolument as for the pleasure of serving the American government that he desired to retain the office which his father (a Cornish Englishman) had received from George Washington." He added, that, "since the Rebellion broke out, he had been so busy trying to show his countrymen that, in a war to extend and strengthen slavery, their sympathies should be with the North," he had not had time to think of his age, or of danger of losing office.⁶⁸

⁶⁰ *London Times*, February 12, 1863 (Letter from Lincoln acknowledging receipt of an address and resolutions sent from Manchester, England, December 31, 1862).

⁶¹ *London Quarterly Review*, July, 1861, p. 128.

⁶² Weed, Thurlow, *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed*, vol. I, pp. 634, 635.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 637; and Bigelow, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

⁶⁴ Weed, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 655.

⁶⁵ Bigelow, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 385-389.

⁶⁶ Adams, C. F., et al., *A Cycle of Adams' Letters*, vol. I, p. 105.

⁶⁷ White, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 93.

⁶⁸ Bigelow, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 403.

⁶⁹ Weed, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 350 (quoting a letter written by Weed at the time).

⁷⁰ Weed, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 639.

⁷¹ Adams, C. F., *op. cit.*, p. 354.

⁷² Adams, C. F., et al., *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 84, 94, 100, 108, 145.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 91, 153.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 119.

⁷⁵ Weed, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 410 (quoted letter).

⁷⁶ *The London Times*, December 14, 1861.

⁷⁷ Weed, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 367.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 362, 363.

⁸⁰ Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 566; Seward, W. H., *Works of William H. Seward*, vol. V, p. 7.

⁸¹ Bigelow, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

⁸² White, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 93.

⁸³ *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. IV, p. 476.

⁸⁴ White, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 94, 95.

⁸⁵ Adams, C. F., et al., *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 282; also *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. VI, p. 269.

⁸⁶ Walker, Robert J., *American Slavery and Finance; The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. VI, p. 269; Bigelow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 81.

⁸⁷ Bigelow, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 415, 416.

⁸⁸ Adams, C. F., et al., *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 282.

⁸⁹ Adams, C. F., et al., *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 48.

⁹⁰ Bigelow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 113.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 644.

⁹² Adams, C. F., et al., *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 18.

⁹³ Adams, C. F., *op. cit.*, pp. 354, 355 (quotes from the *London Standard*).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 355 (quoted).

⁹⁵ Adams, C. F., et al., *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 282.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 80.

⁹⁸ Adams, C. F., *op. cit.*, p. 354.

⁹⁹ Adams, C. F., et al., *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 297, 298.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 18.

¹⁰¹ *The London Times*, February 12, 1863.

- ⁴² Nicolay, and Hay, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 235.
⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 68.
⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 102.
⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 111.
⁴⁶ *London Quarterly Review*, vol. CXI, p. 110.
⁴⁷ *The London Times*, February 12, 1863; Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 308, 309.
⁴⁸ Bigelow, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 440.
⁴⁹ Adams, C. F., *et al.*, vol. I, p. 108.
⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 296.
⁵¹ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 18.
⁵² Walker, R. J., "American Thanksgiving Dinner," in *American Slavery and Finance*, 20-30.
⁵³ Adams, C. F., *et al.*, vol. I, p. 46.
⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101.
⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 104.
⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 108.
⁵⁸ Bigelow, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 451-457.
⁵⁹ See Bigelow, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 576, etc.
⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 619, 620.
⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 492-496, 538, 547; vol. II, p. 111.
⁶² *The National Cyclopedic of American Biography*, vol. V, p. 214.
⁶³ Bigelow, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 415, 416.
⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 463.
⁶⁵ Stillman, William James, *The Autobiography of a Journalist*, vol. I, p. 367.
⁶⁶ Weed, Thurlow, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 628.
⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 641.

An Undergraduate's Views on the Crisis of 1860

CONTRIBUTED BY MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR. P. V. ROGERS, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, HAMILTON COLLEGE

[The Reverend Henry Martyn Dodd, though born in Ohio (August 6, 1839), was a genuine New Yorker. Both his parents were natives of Oneida County, New York. Mr. Dodd received part of his education in that county, spent part of his active ministry in it, and died in it, at the ripe age of eighty-one, November 13, 1920. While he was still a toddler his parents moved from Ohio to Maine. After graduation from the academy at Bridgeton, in that State, Mr. Dodd spent two years in the Genesee and Wyoming Seminary, in New York State, then continued his education at Hamilton College, in Clinton, in his ancestral county of Oneida. He was graduated with the degree of bachelor of arts in 1863. Three years later he received his master's degree. At that time there was no chapter of Phi Beta Kappa at Hamilton, but when Epsilon of New York was established, Mr. Dodd was elected to honorary membership. There were thirty-three graduates and eleven non-graduates in the class of which Mr. Dodd was a member. Of these forty-four young men, we can say with assurance that thirty espoused professional life, eleven entering the ministry, six each becoming teachers, lawyers, and physicians, and one an editor. Some were both ministers and teachers, others both lawyer and editor. At least five entered the army. Three of the forty-four were still alive in the fall of 1926. Mr. Dodd was amongst those following two professions. For four years after being graduated from Hamilton he taught in the academy at Cortlandville, serving two years as assistant principal, two as principal. He then entered Auburn Theological Seminary, from which he was graduated in 1870. Shortly thereafter he married Miss Ella W. Allen, of Great Barrington, Massachusetts. She preceded him into the silent land. Casting his first vote for Lincoln in November, 1860, Mr. Dodd remained in the Republican ranks until 1884, when he became a Prohibitionist, and served that cause valiantly with tongue and pen. After serving numerous churches in New York State thirty years, Mr. Dodd returned to the shadow of Hamilton College in 1909, to spend his declining years. Already the author of several books, he continued to write, mainly along theological lines.

We are indebted to his daughter, Miss Ella Allen Dodd, a teacher in the mission school at Ciales, Porto Rico, for the subjoined letter. It was written from his father's native village, apparently while the young man was filling in his winter vacation by teaching. Whatever may be the reader's political views, and however the lapse of time may have altered the perspective, one can but be amazed at the keenness of insight and the maturity of mind displayed by the freshman of twenty-one.]

HOLLAND PATENT, ONEIDA COUNTY,
December 11, 1860.

Dear Brother:

In your last you asked me for my views on secession.

I confess that I as yet have formed no very definite conclusions, though I have thought much on it. But I will give you some thoughts that occurred to me.

I am convinced that five or seven states will secede before the 4th of March, 1861; that ultimately they will be joined by the remaining slave states except perhaps Missouri and Delaware.

Assuming this conviction as sure of fulfillment we are led to ask the causes and justification of the two parties, the prospects, economical and political of both sections, and the course to be pursued.

The statesmen of the Slave power are eminently foreseeing. They perceive that the Anti Slavery sentiment within 20 years has permeated a majority of the northern people and must soon begin to diffuse its leaven among their own non-slaveholders. They perceive that it has gained control, partially, of the Federal Government, and is soon to surmount every obstacle. If they continue longer, the whole machinery of government will be wrested from their control in at the farthest ten years. They will be completely at its mercy. And most of all they dread the Anti-Slavery sentiment which would soon penetrate their section. Now is their time or never. In this they reason correctly. They must secede now for soon they will be unable.

I am inclined to consider the North as doing right, or if erring at all, it is in being too lenient to them. It provokes me to hear the South tell of the aggressions of the North. They say the North nullifies the Fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, encourages domestic insurrection and prohibits them from removing with their property to the territories, which they insist is a constitutional right. I plead guilty to the first count of the indictment. But they passed a most infamous unjust fugitive slave law. I am willing to repeal the nullifying (such is their practi-

cal scope) laws when they repeal the fugitive slave law. I am willing to have an efficient law for the rendition of fugitives only to carry out the constitution in good faith. The second count I am content simply to deny as too absurd to need discussion. The third is enough to provoke anyone. They call men property and try to cram this doctrine down our throats, and to ram it down with a Supreme court decision. In this the South is the aggressor, for they have proclaimed a new doctrine for their own benefit, and one contrary to the traditions of the fathers.

Let us next inquire what prospects both sections have when separate. The South is strong. Its Aristocracy are equal to the best northern blood. This high bred and intelligent class use the masses as tools, and they know how to do it skilfully so as to develop their full power. They have a cotton crop of great value to sell for cash. By means of a high tariff on imported articles they can offer great inducements to mechanics. They may quite probably annex Cuba, and extend over and absorb Mexico and Central America. This [would] make them soon equal in power to the present Union. Providence permitting they have splendid prospects before them. There is only one cloud over it, that is "the North may coerce them." This prospect is contingent on peaceful secession. But how will it effect the North? It will somewhat decrease the revenues, but will diminish the expenses in nearly the same ratio. On a peace footing, the army of over 17,000 may be reduced to 5,000. For the guarding of the Texas frontier and Arkansas line is the principal prospective occupation of military force. Socially we should be better off. No community of social order has of late existed between the North and South. We have only to impose a high tariff to furnish a market for our manufactures among ourselves. Let us build a Pacific railroad, open a trade between China [and] Japan with Europe by a shorter and more expeditious route than either the Red Sea or Cape of Good Hope. The new territories which will be ours will afford us room for growth. I do think that secession would help us more than the South. But for the love I bear the Union I would that it might be preserved. Above all for the moral effect on the struggling cause of freedom in the world, do I regret its dissolution.

I now come to the next inquiry. What course must we pursue in the present crisis? Manifestly either coercion or non-intervention. It is with me still debatable whether the Congress possess coercing power. The Federation was a compact and provision was not made for any state to secede. Hence no time being specified when it should expire by limitation it will never expire and every state is bound till dissolved by mutual agreement. If a state suffers injustice its only method of redress is revolution, for I believe [in] the right of revolution for sufficient cause. If I were a South Carolinian I might think sufficient cause existed. I shall therefore hold in this argument that Congress possesses compulsory power. The question then arises "Is it wise to exercise the power?" If the whole South secede I

should say nay! Unless the object were to carry off the slaves by military incursions and keep the lack unsupplied by stopping the African Slave trade, which the South would try to reopen, it were useless to wage war, for it would be mere moonshine to expect to subdue the South, except by the horrors of civil [war] and servile butchery, anarchy, ruin, conflagration, and almost entire extinction of Southern whites. I would not like to see another Hayti at the South.

But suppose seven gulf states secede. What then? With the unanimous co-operation of the remaining states they might be subdued. I confess to perplexity here. I cannot see any gain to us to subdue them, but rather a vast expense. On the other hand what is our Union good for if it becomes understood that any state may secede without molestation when the whim takes it? I am not sure that a war is not necessary to preserve the "morale" of the remaining states. Were it not for this last consideration I should say let them go. One section will in the lapse of centuries humble the other. Can you doubt which it will be? Some think that by concessions we may induce the rebel states to remain. Even if such inducements should prove effectual I am opposed to any concession. Much as I love the Union I love human Freedom [more]. And if slave territory is the price of the Union, "the Union must slide."

On the whole I am opposed to making any concession, and shall (now) vote for making an attempt to coerce the seceding states.

Troublous times flit like spectres in the dim future. You and I were born in an age when perhaps we can find opportunities for great usefulness, in maintaining the right.

I have heard our father say that in his opinion Slavery will not be abolished in this land except by civil war. I confess that I have always thought so too. Now it seems that his prophecy is rendered more probable.

The statesmen of the Slave Power have displayed great statesmanship in the bringing about of this crisis at the present time. Read the speech of Senator Iversen from Georgia and there you will find the exact truth of their policy with a complete justification on their premises. I refer to his speech of December 11th, yesterday.

I am inclined to believe that the coercion policy will be adopted. The entire Northwest will be unanimous for it under lead of Senator Douglas. It may find a few opponents among the Hunkers.

I have given you an essay rather than an expression of opinion. During this time I have been almost oblivious of the person I was addressing, and I have sometimes used words which may not be familiar to you. Most probably it will prove dull if not unendurable to you. Please tell me frankly whether it interested you or not.

I will fill out this sheet with news in a day or two and dispatch it.

Saturday Evening, December 22, 1860.

I am really much disappointed at not receiving a

letter from home this week. It is nearly three weeks since I heard from them. I will try for my part to be prompt.

I do not have much news to write. Please give the enclosed slip of paper to Mr. Rundel's folks to be sent to Norton.

If Father will mail the *Independent* to me regularly after he has read it I will pay the postage. Several copies are taken here, but they are in such demand that I get them seldom.

I am living along without being homesick. The folks below are very cheerful and I am not at all lonesome. I like them very much. The old man is a very good, pious old gentleman. Mr. Hitchcock has started a singing school. I may go some.

I heard from Bloomfield this week. All are well. By the same letter I heard indirectly from Uncle Moses. He had made them a visit. His people enjoy average health. I have not yet made Aunt Mary a visit but I shall soon.

My school moves along in the beaten track.

Now John you must write me a letter *four* pages long, quarto post, to pay for this. Give me your opinions on any topic you may have in mind. Please send along the *Independent* as far back as Dec. 6th.

From your Brother,

H. M. DODD.

TO JOHN JAMES DODD

[It will be noted that only five times was it necessary to supply an omitted word to complete the sense of this letter. It is also evident that while Henry Dodd is reflecting the opinions of his elders, he has not yet fully made up his mind, and is arguing as much to clarify his own thoughts as to inform John. The accuracy of the prophecy in the first part of the third paragraph is amazing. Before any State had seceded, he predicts that five to seven will secede before Lincoln can assume office. By that date seven had seceded. Also, he was correct in assuming that the other slave States would follow, unless it be Delaware and Missouri. To these exceptions, Maryland and Kentucky added themselves. But both of these, as well as Missouri, rendered much assistance to the Confederates, in men and money. The reference to Senator Iverson's speech of "December 11th, yesterday," shows that even the first portion of the letter was not concluded at one sitting. It is to be regretted, that since the letter was not dispatched until after the secession of South Carolina, Henry did not comment on that event, which must have been known to him by the 22d. He uses the word "rebel" to describe the possible seceding States before there has been any occasion for attempt at coercion and resistance. Henry Dodd's anti-slavery views make pertinent the mention of the fact that a few years ago, in repairing a tenement house on a farm just under the lee of the hill on which Hamilton College stands, a station of the "Underground Railway" was discovered.

While the second portion of the letter—written with a different pen, by the way—is not germane to the political philosophy of the first, it is included for the pleasant light it throws upon Henry's nature.]

The Assignment of a Large Unit of Work: The Overview

BY BURR W. PHILLIPS, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR IN THE TEACHING OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

It is coming to be widely recognized that the assignment and subsequent recitation of daily lessons as units of instruction does not produce results in harmony with present-day aims in education. This would seem to be especially true in the teaching of history. Under the daily lesson and recitation system, the pupil too often learns *lessons* rather than *history*. An unnatural and unnecessary separation between the preparation and recitation of the lesson is too apt to result in mere memorization and repetition, or painful extraction of facts if the teacher happens to have a bent for dentistry. Even in some of the best supervised study procedures, where the daily lesson is the unit of study, and where the same line is drawn between *study* and *recitation*, the same results follow. The pupil is confronted with a mass of facts, names, dates, battles, or other events; he tries to remember what he has read or studied, and he is seldom able to see the forest because of the trees. And he does not learn *history*. For it must be remembered that facts alone do not make history. Unless the student is learning to master the facts of history in their significant relations, unless he is learning to trace movements, to see institutions in the process of growth, with some appreciation of the great forces underlying the surface phenomena, he

might better be spending his time on some other subject. Better no history at all in the high school curriculum than that type of history which degenerates into a pouring-in process or rote memorization, with the resulting boredom and dislike of history which have become almost traditional the country over.

In place of the daily assignment-lesson-recitation, many teachers would like to substitute a procedure which makes no artificial separation between a study process and a recitation process, which, instead of administering history in artificial, meaningless daily doses, takes into consideration its larger unities, stressing not only fact material, but the more fundamental relations, causes, results, motives, and forces which tie the facts together into a meaningful and significant whole. These teachers are interested also in developing in their classes alert, self-active individuals who, on their own initiative, are capable of working ahead in their subject with open and inquiring minds. They are interested in attaining a maximum of pupil activity with a minimum of *apparent* teacher activity. Note the word *apparent*!

PROBLEMS INVOLVED

If the history assignment is to be made over a

larger unit, with the individuals in the class working ahead at varying rates of speed over a large number of class hours—say, ten or fifteen, or even more, depending upon the importance of the unit and the material available—with the class hour used now as a work hour, now as an opportunity for socialized discussion (not recitation) as the work progresses—two questions naturally arise. Just what are the units to be so studied? And how is such an assignment to be made so as to get a maximum of sustained effort and also economy of time and effort?

LARGE UNITS OF WORK

Neither question can be answered with any degree of dogmatism. As to the first, the organization of a history course into a few large units of work will depend upon the way in which the history to be studied falls naturally into phases or movements or the study of institutions. For some epochs, the units will be cross-sectional, with an intensive study of a while civilization or of institutions. Because of the enormous sweep of time to be covered in a few weeks, a minimum of attention will be paid to chronology. This will be the case in the study of the Ancient Oriental Civilizations and of Medieval History. Sufficient attention will be given to the *growth* of institutions, and their living social aspects will not be slighted. But the pupil will not be bewildered by the long lists of dynasties and inter-dynastic wars which have so often killed whatever initial interest he may have had.

For Greek, Roman, Modern European, and American history, however, the units will be largely, but not exclusively, longitudinal and developmental. For example, a year's course in Modern European History might very well be organized as follows:

- I. Europe in the Eighteenth Century—Political Background of the French Revolution.
- II. Europe in the Eighteenth Century—Social and Economic Background of the French Revolution.
- III. Europe in the Eighteenth Century—Intellectual Background of the French Revolution.
- IV. The French Revolution.
- V. The Era of Napoleon.
- VI. The Age of Metternich—Reconstruction and Reaction.
- VII. The Industrial Revolution.
- VIII. The Revolutions of 1848.
- IX. The Unification of Italy.
- X. The Unification of Germany.
- XI. France from 1848 to the Twentieth Century.
- XII. England in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.
 - (1) A Century of Political Reform.
 - (2) A Century of Social and Economic Reform.
 - (3) The Irish Question.
 - (4) The British Commonwealth of Nations.
- XIII. The Immediate Background of the World War.

- (1) European Rivalries in the Near East, the Far East, and Africa.
- (2) Alliances and Ententes.

XIV. The World War and Reconstruction.

It will be noticed that the earlier units in the course are shorter and less comprehensive than the later ones. It is obvious also that, since these units are all more or less artificial, in the same sense that the so-called "periods of history" are artificial—existing only for the sake of convenience and ease in presentation—there can be no one orthodox organization of the course. Units I, II, and III might very easily be combined; similarly IV and V, VII and VIII might be presented as two units instead of four; while XII and XIII might be broken up into four and two units, respectively. The writer has tried several different organizations, and, to date, has found the one outlined above the most teachable.¹

One possible objection should be considered at this point. The daily assignment and the organization of the course into daily units of work have been discarded as too artificial. Why does not the same criticism apply to one as to the other? True, the fourteen units suggested seem to represent arbitrary divisions of the subject-matter, and there is always the danger that the poorly prepared teacher will fail to present these units in their proper relation to the larger whole of history. But the daily lesson unit is artificial and arbitrary with a vengeance. Surely the large unit which deals with a whole movement or a whole institution is a more effective medium for presenting a well-proportioned view of history than is the lesser unit, which may so easily disregard even the most obvious relations. Between the historian or the philosopher, who sees human experience as one vast integrated whole, and the teacher or pupil, who is hopelessly confused with facts and lessons, there must be some middle ground. And the use of the larger unit seems to give us that middle ground. And, after all, what part of his high school history will the pupil find useful in his thinking ten years later? Will it be the minutiae of the daily recitation or his understanding of the larger meanings back of the minutiae?—a false antithesis, perhaps; but one worth considering.

One further suggestion should be made. The selection and naming of the units will depend considerably upon the basic text used by the class. Some texts have been organized by the writers with a unit presentation in view. Others must be given such organization by the instructor. It is better not to confuse the pupils by having the organization of the course depart too widely from the organization of their textbook.

HOW THE LARGE UNIT IS ASSIGNED

Having organized the course, one must deal next with the second problem. Granted the wisdom of the large unit organization, how is the assignment over such a unit to be made so as to get a maximum of sustained effort, and also economy of time and effort?

In another place, the writer has discussed the mechanics of the procedure with considerable detail.²

The overview, the guidance sheet, individual differences, the indeterminate assignment, the work hour, socialized discussion, the notebook, tests and examinations, and grading must all be taken into consideration. Here we are interested mainly in the overview, for it is in the overview that the pupil is given the initial push, the key to the big problems of the unit, the guide lines which should enable him to work ahead under his own power. Motivation, interest, and challenge all depend upon the effectiveness of the overview. It is here that the "assignment is made."

When the group is about to begin a new unit of work, no assignment is made in advance. This does not mean that the pupils will have had no background for the new work. Any normal, interested youngster will have "read ahead," and he will have also a rich background of general information which we too often overlook. The teacher uses all or part of the first hour for a presentation of the principal themes and problems of the new unit.³ No set form is recommended. The formal "lecture" is to be avoided. The writer seldom follows the same plan twice in giving the overview for a period. Sometimes he gives an informal talk, encouraging discussion as he goes along; sometimes the question and answer method predominates. As part of the overview for the "Age of Metternich," he has sometimes found it a very stimulating exercise to read with the class Van Loon's chapter on the Holy Alliance in his *Story of Mankind*. Here, in one short chapter, the pupil is introduced to the personalities and problems of the "waltzing congress" in a way that only a genius at storytelling could hope to duplicate.

In giving the overview, the first requisites on the part of the teacher are a lively enthusiasm and understanding of the forces in operation, an ability to tell a story forcefully and graphically—to tell just enough to quicken interest on the part of the pupils—to suggest, rather than to tell, the whole story. The success of the overview can be measured by the active attention of the group, and by the lively discussion which should follow. It seems advisable, as a rule, to have the pupils postpone their own questions and contributions until the whole overview has been given. It is too easy to get off on a tangent, especially if one is full of his subject.

At the beginning of the course, particularly if most of the pupils have had no other history, the overview will of necessity be largely the work of the teacher. This will be true for perhaps the first two or three units. But gradually pupils and instructor are finding more and more common ground. Furthermore, the pupils are learning to think historically, which may be just another way of saying that they are learning to think creatively. Then it is extremely important for the teacher to make use of this common ground, and these new abilities. More and more the overview will become a co-operative enterprise—an adventure, if you will—on the part of teacher and pupils, the teacher's part becoming more and more that of director and guide, while the pupils forge

ahead and explore the new field, led on by new interests and the new challenge.

A TYPICAL OVERVIEW

To show what the overview may develop into and how it may be made the instrument of very effective motivation and challenge, let us consider a class of high school sophomores who are just ready to begin their study of Alexander and the Hellenistic Age. They have had twelve weeks of Ancient History. The Christmas holidays have intervened. The following represents the substance of the first day's exercise after the holidays.

Before the class is a large map showing the conquests of Alexander.⁴ Inserts illustrate the rise of Macedon to Philip's death, the break-up of Alexander's Empire, and the Greek federation about 230 B. C. The map is used constantly during the overview.

Teacher: "Suppose we review very quickly the ground we have covered since last fall. First, we saw how the earliest civilizations developed in the Nile and Tigris-Euphrates river valleys. We saw what lasting contributions these civilizations made to ours. We saw how one great state after another rose and fell, until finally the great Persian Empire of Cyrus and Darius absorbed almost the whole known world. But not quite the *whole* world. For a new civilization was going up in what was then the west. The Cretans had built up perhaps the first western civilization, but we know how completely their civilization was destroyed by people from the mainland of Greece. These mainlanders were partly Cretans and partly Indo-European invaders, who had come in the first place from the same parent race that the Persians had come from. By the year 1000 B. C., these Indo-European Greek tribes had swarmed over the whole peninsula, as well as the islands of the Aegean and the shores of Asia Minor. We saw how they settled down, developing a new western civilization, taking special pride in their city-states, whose governments were already becoming democracies after five hundred years of monarchy, rule by the nobles, tyranny, and finally rule by the many. But, proud as they were of their city-states, it was their loyalty to their city-state, that along with other forces we have noticed, that stood in the way of the formation of a great Greek nation. For a few brief years the Greeks did lay aside their differences long enough to keep the great, expanding Persian Empire from absorbing little Greece; but after the Battle of Salamis, they returned to their rivalries and petty jealousies. For almost seventy-five years Athens remained the foremost city of the Greek world, in commerce, in things intellectual, and as the head of her great league and empire. But she succeeded only in arousing the jealousy of her neighbors, who appealed to Sparta. The wars with Sparta brought about the political ruin of Athens, and for thirty years Sparta lorded it over the rest of the Greeks. Her harsh rule could not be tolerated for long, and when Thebes produced a general who could defeat the Spartans, she succeeded to Sparta's position as the leading

Greek city until Epaminondas died and left her without a leader.

"And so, Athens had failed, Sparta had failed, and Thebes had failed in the great task of uniting the Greeks. *Why had they failed?*" There follows a lively discussion as to the probable reasons for the failure of the Greeks to build up a nation-state.

It will be noticed that during this first part of the overview the teacher is doing the talking, sketching in the background and review with broad, quick strokes, and working rapidly to the first thought-provoking question which will bring the pupils into a more active participation. The review carries the pupils back to the earliest beginnings of civilization. The new unit, then, is not to be an artificially isolated block of work. Rather, it is to be a part in the whole story of civilization, seen in its relation to the whole. The review element plays this important rôle in every overview. In taking up the first unit with a class in Modern European History, the well-equipped teacher will find it necessary to devote several days, at the very least, to a survey of the progress of civilization up to the time of Louis XIV. In no other way can he satisfy his historical conscience.

From this point on, it is a question as to who is the more active, the teacher or the pupils, so immediate is the response of the group to every situation and problem suggested by the teacher and pupils. Quite frequently, the character and scope of the overview may be shaped by the pupil's own problems, rather than by the predetermined plan of the teacher, for progress in self-direction is a goal which is just as important as is historical instruction.

Teacher: "When the Greeks failed in their task, what alternative did they have to face?" Obviously, the alternative was conquest by a foreign power. "But what foreign power?" Persia, Macedon, Rome, and Carthage are suggested. "But we have ample evidence that Persia was in no condition to set out on a new career of conquest." Someone remembers Xenophon's Ten Thousand and their march through the heart of a declining and disorganized Persia. So Persia was not a neighbor to be feared. Carthage had other interests in the Western Mediterranean, and Rome was still busy with her own internal problems and the conquest of Italy. The pupils decide that Macedon was to be considered seriously.

"Who were the Macedonians?" Examination of the map shows that they may have been Greeks who were sidetracked when the other Greeks entered the peninsula, or later Indo-European invaders, or a mixed race, because Macedon was in the path of invasions from both northeast and northwest.

The teacher then outlines the essential facts in the story of Macedon up to the time of Philip. Before he became king, Philip had spent three years in Thebes, as a hostage in the home of Epaminondas. "What would he have an opportunity to learn during that time? How would this training be useful to him later on? Is it possible that he came to understand the Greeks pretty well? Be on the lookout for proof that such was the case."

"Then Philip returned to land-locked Macedon as its king. What would be his first interest?" Possibly the army. "In what direction would he make his first conquests?" Toward the Aegean. "Why?" "Incidentally he got possession of some rich gold mines. What advantage would he have now?" He could build up his army. Someone suggests that he could buy alliances. "With whom?" "How did he know that he could buy Greek alliances?"

The teacher then supplies the thread of the story of Philip's conquest of the Greek city-states until Athens was hemmed in on all sides. "Why was Athens so slow to resist Philip's aggression?" It develops that Athens was a commercial city and that the merchants would not want war. Besides, there were factions in Athens, the party of Demosthenes and that of Isocrates, the one bitterly opposed to making any terms with Philip, and the other standing for a Greek union under the leadership of Philip. To bring in the personal element, the teacher reads a short selection from Demosthenes' Third Philippic.⁵ "Did Demosthenes understand the Greeks? How would you characterize his point of view? Do you agree with his charge that Philip 'is not only no Greek and noway akin to Greeks, but not even a barbarian of a place honorable to mention; in fact, a vile fellow of Macedon....?' How would Isocrates have answered his arguments?"

Then is sketched the story of the final resistance of the Greeks at Chaeronea, Philip's plans, his death, and the accession of the boy Alexander. "What would the Greeks do as soon as they heard of Philip's death? What were Alexander's first problems?" Having reconquered the Greeks, he proposed to lead the Greek and Macedonian armies against Persia. "Why would this plan appeal to the Greeks?" He conquered Asia Minor and defeated Darius III at Issus. This was as far as Philip had planned to go. "Why was this a great turning-point in Alexander's career?" He next conquered the Syrian and Phoenician coasts. "Why didn't he first pursue Darius, who had fled eastward?" Next, Egypt was conquered. "Why did Alexander want Egypt? Did he show good judgment in founding the Egyptian Alexandria?" He made a long journey to the oracle of Zeus Ammon, where the priests proclaimed him a god. "Why do you suppose this was necessary to his plans? How would the Egyptians and Persians accept the idea that he was a god? How about the Greeks and Macedonians?"

Then comes the story of the great Persian campaign, the defeat of Darius at Arbela, the taking of the Persian capitals, and the campaigns in the Far East. "Why didn't Alexander go on to China? Why hadn't his soldiers mutinied before? How did they dare mutiny with a god as their leader?" He led his army back through the mountain and deserts while his captain, Nearchus, built a fleet and sailed back along the shores of the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf, making scientific observations that would delight Alexander's old teacher, Aristotle. Alexander's return to Babylon and his early death closed his

career. "Had he completed his work? What plans do you think he may have had for further conquests? Do you think the world gained or lost by his death?"

In the same overview, and in the same fashion, the pupils are given an introductory glimpse of the way Alexander organized his world empire and his plans for a Graeco-Oriental civilization, and the inevitable break-up of the empire after his death. The resulting balance of power between Macedon, Egypt, and the Seleucid Kingdom of Asia is explained. It was this balance that made possible the three centuries of commerce and comparative peace during which the civilization of the Hellenistic Age was conquering the world. And finally the pupils are initiated into some of the marvels of the Hellenistic civilization preparatory to a more intensive study of the art, literature, and science of the period.

This represents the substance of an overview recently given to a class of sophomores. The exercise took up probably forty-five minutes of a sixty-minute period. Did the teacher talk for forty-five minutes? Not at all. After the first brief review, his task was mainly that of suggesting to the class real, vital situations and problems, and of keeping the narrative moving ahead rapidly. The immediate result was interested and intelligent co-operation and participation on the part of the pupils. With the help of their general information background and their common sense, what they really did was to construct their own overview—the teacher helping and directing where help and direction were needed. The balance of the hour was spent in an explanation of the

guidance sheet, pronunciation of new names, and discussion of the respective merits and contents of the books on the reference list. The pupils were then ready to plunge into the study of the new unit, fully equipped, and with interest kindled.

Having experimented for some time with this type of assignment, the writer feels that when such an overview has been worked out effectively, with the fullest co-operation between teacher and pupils, the interest thus stimulated, together with a wise distribution of work and discussion periods during the study of the unit, will solve our second problem.

CONCLUSION

In brief, one is tempted to suggest some of the educational values of such a procedure. What are the outstanding merits of the exercise just described? Directed study, socialized procedure, cultivation of the historical attitude, creative thinking in the best sense, motivation, the challenge—all are to be found in such a procedure. Can as much be said for the traditional daily assignment and recitation procedure?

¹ See also Henry C. Morrison, *The Practice of Teaching in the Secondary School* (University of Chicago Press, 1926), Chapter XII.

² "The History Assignment: A Suggested Procedure," in *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*, XVII (1926), p. 322 et seq.

³ Cf. R. M. Tryon, *The Teaching of History in Junior and Senior High Schools* (Ginn and Co., 1921), p. 226 et seq.

⁴ Webster-Knowlton-Hazen, Map No. A. H. 9.

⁵ Botsford, *A Source Book of Ancient History*, p. 266 et seq.

Technique of Teaching History by the Laboratory Method in the History Department of the Trenton Senior High School

CONTRIBUTED BY ERNEST Y. RAETZER

I. INTRODUCTION

The teachers of history in our high schools today realize that the subject is very different from that taught twenty years ago. No longer is history presented as a series of unrelated facts grouped under successive administrations. One of the fundamental ideas in history is continuity. In every series of historical facts the student must look not only for the connection between the individual events of the series, but for the connection which this series has with some other series.

In the Trenton High School the laboratory method has been instituted in the history courses as a means of increasing the practical value of the courses. The entire year's work has been blocked into problems for the various weeks and instead of reporting five days a week to the classroom, the pupils now spend two of their history periods in a specially arranged History

Library for research and preparation of written reports. The library group may consist of two or more recitation classes under the supervision of one instructor; and all are in the same course. They work from mimeographed sheets and books which are passed out at the beginning of the period. The reports submitted to the instructor in charge of the library period are the core of the work, and the classroom work supplements these main topics; these reports are given to the recitation teachers, who rate and discuss them with their individual groups. The pupils then file the problems in their notebooks.

Besides intensifying the knowledge gained by the pupils, the new method assists in solving two administrative problems of the High School: By utilizing all of the space in the library every period of the day, it enables the badly overcrowded building to accommodate more pupils; and it also enables the adminis-

tration to cut down on the teaching staff, since the instructor in the library cares for at least two groups at once.

Since some pupils work more slowly than others, each problem is divided into three parts to allow for the minimum attainment, average attainment, and the maximum attainment. The minimum requirement consists of Group I and the Conclusion, composed primarily of a series of questions and thought-provoking problems based upon the textbook chapters of the week, and to some extent on library reference books; the average attainment consists of Groups I and II, and the Conclusion, composed of questions based on both the textbook and a library reference; and the maximum attainment consists of Groups I, II and III and the Conclusion. The questions in Group III, more than the questions in the other two groups, are thought questions aimed to challenge the pupils and cause them to put forth their utmost efforts and to weigh and consider before attempting the answers to these questions.

A very important phase of the work is teaching the pupils how to read. At the beginning of each semester every class discusses the subject under the direction of the library instructor, using Kornhauser, *How to Study*, a very interesting and well-written pamphlet that can be analyzed in two periods. After two or three years spent in studying any form of history under the laboratory method where there exists more individual thought, the pupils ought to think more clearly and logically upon problems arising for their solution. This type of work has also proved especially valuable to the students who go to college inasmuch as they have learned how to get the most from "outside readings" in a reasonable amount of time.

II. TECHNIQUE FOR TEACHING HISTORY BY THE LABORATORY METHOD

A. ORGANIZATION OF SUBJECT-MATTER

1. The entire semester's work shall be outlined in problem form. Two library periods per week will be devoted to the individual study of problems, three periods per week to classroom study. All classes in any given course will be doing the same problems during the same week and all *will follow the same sequence*.
2. All the teachers of any given course number shall have a part in the preparation and the revision of the problems of that course number.
3. All teachers should have the same number of recitation and library periods, in so far as this can be accomplished; and the teachers should be in the library at the same time that their recitation groups are there.
4. The groups in the library should be pursuing the same courses in order to allow large group instruction.
5. Even though problems have been previously prepared by the teachers they may be "developed" in class, as if done originally by the pupils. Whether developed by the class or not, pupils at all times must see the continuity of the course. They must see the forest as well as the trees.
6. Each problem shall consist of three parts—Groups I, II, and III. The purpose of this threefold division is to provide minimum, average, and maximum work. The minimum requirement shall consist of Group I and the Conclusion; the average requirement shall consist of Groups I and II and the Conclusion; and the maximum requirement shall consist of Groups I, II, and III, and the Conclusion. There shall be one set of Conclusions for all pupils and no problem is complete without the Conclusions.
7. Earmarks of a good problem.
 - a. The problem must not only be important, but the pupils must be made to feel its importance.
 - b. It must fit into the course as a whole.
 - c. It must come within the necessary time limit without sacrificing quality.
 - d. The readings must be carefully chosen; selections must not be too heavy; and the questions and instructions must be clear and specific.



Studying History by the Laboratory Method in the Senior High School, Trenton, N. J. These pictures were taken by one of the pupils in the American History class.

- e. The questions must not be of the "Yes" and "No" type. Questions involving not only fact but also generalization and summarization should be asked.
- f. Systematic plans should be made to vary the form of the problem. In some cases the problem may be summed up in questions; in others, in the making of an outline; in others, the writing of topic sentences; in others, pupils may be asked to frame a problem after doing the assigned readings. Occasionally, objective reading tests (completion tests, choose correct answer from list, etc.) may be given. The purpose of the reading test is to check the efficiency of the reading.

B. LIBRARY WORK

1. A word of caution at the beginning may be wise. Written problems work will reveal weaknesses that do not come to light under the oral recitation system. "Writing maketh an exact man." Written work in itself does not promote slovenly thinking, but it reveals it more plainly than oral work because:
 - a. It is easier to conceal ignorance in the average oral recitation.
 - b. In the oral recitation comparatively few recite; in the library everybody recites.
2. Methods of administering the library work.
 - a. Give the course a good start. Point out the big aims: (1) knowledge of interesting and valuable facts and movements; (2) interest in historic literature; (3) ideals of citizenship; (4) efficient habits of work with books; (5) increased power to read.
Use maps, charts, pictures freely. The course of study shall specifically list materials of this kind and note the place where these materials shall be used. Have a large chart of high spots on the wall and call attention of the pupils to this bird's-eye view.
Connect the course with things vital to the pupil's experience.
 - b. Show the importance of following directions. Classes are large, teachers' time is limited, pupils need to follow instructions.
Emphasize the following instructions:
 - (1) Follow a uniform order (model furnished) in the preparation of a problem for the teacher's inspection.

- (2) Complete and hand in all work within the time specified.
 - (3) Teachers will not examine work that is not neatly done and easily legible.
 - (4) Do not waste time. Begin work immediately after entering the library and do not talk to your neighbor.
- c. Give consideration to the problem of teaching pupils how to read.
- (1) Show the aim of purposeful reading and go over the following methods to develop good reading power:
 - (a) A writer is a builder, a builder of thought. Like a builder, he makes a plan. Instead of wood, stone, and concrete, he uses words, sentences, and paragraphs.
The substance of the writing may be narrative. In this case the order of the writing will follow the order of the events. The author may state a main topic and treat it in a series of illustrations. Example—Muzzey in "An American History," page 90, says that there were conflicting opinions concerning the American Revolutionary War and there gives specific illustrations. The writing may be argumentative, in which case the author gives a series of reasons for the position which he has taken. Muzzey, on page 279, argues that the war against Mexico was a just war.
 - (b) Reading is a process of thinking. Look for the author's central idea and the leading divisions. As you read, note the divisions corresponding to the author's plan.
 - (c) Keep the purpose of the reading in mind. Don't allow your mind to wander. The difference between "just reading" and purposeful reading is the difference between taking a walk and walking to arrive somewhere.
 - (d) Look for the topic sentence in the paragraph. note key words, striking phrases, good illustrations. Ex. Williamson in "Problems in American Democracy," in chapter 39, discusses the "Federal System of Government." Such key words as DELEGATED, RESIDUAL, DUAL, TRIPARTITE, and BICAMERAL



Studying Problems in American Democracy by the Laboratory Method in the Senior High School, Trenton, N. J. This room accommodates 82 pupils. Since this picture was taken additional shelving has been installed to accommodate the 1800 reference books.

form the whole discussion. In this same chapter (chapter 39) the labels tell the story.

- (e) If the paragraphs of the chapter are labelled, read the label carefully.
- (f) In reading few habits are more helpful in enabling one to understand and remember an author's thought than the habit of finding and following the author's plan.
- (g) In general, history references should be read three times:
 1. The first time the passage should be read rather slowly to get the thought as a whole.
 2. The second time the purpose is to master the details to see clearly the author's plan of development. Stop at the end of important parts and put the thought into your own words. Find a few places where you can think of examples or illustrations.
 3. The final reading may be rapid, the purpose being a review of the important parts.
- (h) "Read not to contradict and to confute, nor to believe and take for granted, but to weigh and consider."—*Bacon*. Stop, look, listen in terms of reading means survey the field, read, think.
- (i) Pupils must guard against reading simply to remember. They must think their way through their reading.
- (j) The best evidence that the reader is reading thoughtfully is that questions arise in his mind as he reads.
- (k) A skillful reader is always alert to see the relative importance of the various facts and ideas he finds in any selection.
Ex. One pupil—an honor pupil—asked why it was of any importance to know that a hundred thousand copies of Paine's "Common Sense" were sold and that that number represented four million today. Then the class had a discussion on the control of public opinion by an editor of a 4,000,000 publication. Only the reader's common sense will enable him to distinguish between ideas and facts of major importance.

The following analysis may be helpful:

1. A general truth is usually more important than any of the illustrations of that truth. For example, it is more important to know that many immigrants are undesirable because of their physical condition than that a certain person was barred because he had tuberculosis.
2. A striking illustration is very important. For instance, the lack of consistency of President Jackson is illustrated as follows: He decried party spirit in 1816, and yet, when he became President, he removed over 1000 government officials to make places for men who had supported his campaign.
3. A strong similarity or contrast is important because it helps the reader to remember the general truth. For example, Capitalism, while far from perfect, has greatly benefited humanity, while Socialism has made but an insignificant contribution of a negative nature. Therefore, it is better to retain the former than to embrace the latter.
4. Details used to help make an illustration clear are less important than the meaning of the illustration itself. For example, after studying the Revolutionary War period, one significant idea or conclusion is that the Revolution was not the result of a few years' discontent, but an upheaval which occurred as a result of the ill-feelings and misunderstandings

which had accumulated for three-quarters of a century.

- (l) In reading take occasional backward looks to fix in mind the most important facts.
- (m) A good, silent reader sometimes reads rapidly, sometimes slowly. Sometimes he takes in whole sentences at a glance. Sometimes he studies carefully every word. He adapts his method to the kind of material he is reading and to the purpose for which he is reading.
- (n) Skimming is justifiable when you are looking for some special thing or when you aim to get a bird's-eye view of the whole selection and plan later to read the selection carefully. Test your ability to skim rapidly by asking, "Where in this reference does the author say...."
- (o) A reader is a good reader in proportion to the experience he brings to his reading. A good reader recalls constantly other things which he has read, heard, or seen, and which illuminate what he is now reading. He reads "between the lines." "That reminds me" is a thought which comes constantly to the mind of a reader. What is already in his mind will have a large influence in determining what comes to his mind. By asking questions, which bring out likenesses and differences the reader can greatly enrich his reading.
- (p) Suggested reading tests.
 1. For rapidity all read the same passage during a set time. Count the words.
 2. For efficiency give sentence completion test or choice of correct answer from list, etc.
- 3. Library work with a large group involves a definite and efficient organization to handle necessary books, papers, maps, etc. Care must be exercised each day to check in all library books used by the pupils; and books should be loaned over night to pupils who have missed library period.
- 4. The library program for the semester shall provide a definite place for the use of maps, lantern slides, pictures, charts, etc. This will make possible a reasonable lecture program for large groups in the library.
- 5. Occasionally the library teacher should analyze sample papers before the class, showing the strong points of good papers and the weak points of poor papers. The library period is primarily a teaching period and not simply a period in which an officer is placed to maintain order.
- 6. Written work should be inspected frequently, weekly, if possible. Pupils should make the necessary corrections and additions so that their notebooks may contain a complete and accurate account of the semester's work.
- 7. The following directions may help to prevent the library hour from becoming a mechanical copying exercise.
 - a. Explain the following diagrams:

<i>The right way—read, reflect, write.</i>		
History book	Pupil's brain	Notebook
<i>The wrong way—read, write</i>		
History book	Pupil's hand	Notebook
 - b. Appeal to the pupil's self-interest. Copying is an extravagant waste of time.
 - c. Appeal to the pupil's honesty.

This above all—to thine own self be true;
And it must follow as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.
 - d. Observe the following directions:
 - (1) Do not distribute the problem sheets until the pupils have read the references.
 - (2) With the problem in hand pupils shall reread the references to answer the questions in Group I. Then with the book closed they shall write answers to the questions in Group I. It shall be allowable at any time to open the book to verify a specific fact, as, for example, the spelling of a name or the checking of a date, but it shall not be

allowable to write with the book open. Frequent reference to the book shall be noted as evidence of poor reading. The same process shall be repeated for Groups II and III.

- (3) Ask questions that involve a reshaping of the words of the author.
- (4) Note "literary" answers. Ask the pupil to answer the same question orally. Show the pupil that "thy speech betrayeth thee."
- e. At the end of each library period the teacher shall allow a few minutes for a brief written statement regarding the pupil's accomplishment in the laboratory period.
- f. All work done outside of the laboratory period shall be plainly labelled "Work done outside of laboratory period." If there is any pronounced dishonesty in the work the teacher will soon detect the difference in the quality of the work done outside as compared with the work done in class.
8. How to prevent collusion in checking up tests.
 - a. Pass numbered cards (corresponding to the number in class and well shuffled) among the pupils. Pupils note the number, sign the card, and return the card.
 - b. Have directions on the examination form as follows: This paper was prepared by number.....(pupil inserts his number). Also, This paper was corrected by number.....(pupil inserts his number).
 - c. After pupils have completed the examination they pass the papers forward. The teacher redistributes papers, being careful to send them away from the owners of the papers.
 - d. Corrected papers shall be returned to the teacher, not to the owner. After marks are recorded, papers go to owners.

C. RECITATION WORK

1. The classroom work supports the library work, rather than vice versa.
2. The teacher should be skilled in the art of motivation.
3. The pupils should frequently be asked to present their problem findings before the class. This form of topic recitation teaches pupils to organize and to express their thoughts, and in general has more value than the question and answer method of the recitation.
4. With a course in history should go a knowledge of certain fundamental dates, facts, and principles. It is the business of the recitation teacher to fix these in the pupil's minds. This includes first a convenient summary in the pupil's hands, and, secondly, sufficient drill in the recitation periods to fix these things in mind.

D. UNIFORM RATINGS IN THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT

1. Uniform plans for evaluating the various phases of work in each course number shall prevail.
2. For each rating period each pupil will be held responsible for six problems, a number of required tests, and a notebook in which will be found the syllabus, class notes, problems, maps, and clippings. The notebook will be examined and marked twice during each rating period.
3. Each division will be evaluated and at the end of the rating period the total number of possible points determined.
4. Then a pupil who has attained 90 per cent. of the total number of points shall receive an "A" for his rating; a pupil who has attained between 80 and 89 per cent. of the whole number shall be given a "B"; the pupil who has attained between 70 and 79 per cent. of the whole number shall be given a "C"; the pupil who has attained between 60 and 69 per cent. shall be given a "D"; and the pupil who has failed to attain as much as 60 per cent. of the whole number of possible points shall be given an "E"; providing, however,
5. No pupil may receive a passing mark without handing in the minimum essentials consisting of: (a) neat and well-arranged notebook, (b) the required number of problems, (c) the required number of maps, (d) and such material as to dates and events that may be required by the department from time to time.

E. VISUAL EDUCATION

1. Realizing that the eye is a valuable medium through which information may be gained and interest aroused and stimulated, the History Department has enriched its field by incorporating into the courses in eleventh and twelfth-grade history a definite program of work in connection with visual instruction.
2. The department is equipped with the most modern appliances for the showing of lantern slides and films by means of "daylight projection." A definite program of seven lectures has been prepared for each of the courses in Modern European History, American History, and American Government. The slides, which approximate 600 in number, have been carefully selected so as to cover practically every phase of the work in the Social Sciences. By special arrangement with the State Department of Conservation, it will also be possible to present at stated times films (depicting epochs of American History) from the Yale Chronicle Series. Both slides and films will undoubtedly prove most valuable for classifying ideas relative to the development of the present-day historic atmosphere.
3. Illustrative material, such as maps, charts, and diagrams, are playing a definite part, and the pupil is not only encouraged but required to collect pictures, cartoons, etc., from magazines, newspapers, and other sources for his notebook, the purpose being to secure, thereby, a fuller understanding, a better appreciation, and a more intelligent interpretation of the past and present history of our own and foreign nations.

III. TYPICAL PROBLEMS

A. MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Problem No. 28

Object: To show the relations of Europe with China and Japan.

Method: Read the topics listed below first and then begin to answer the questions. The topics can be found as listed in the references.

1. Awakening of China (1) (4).
2. Rise and growth of Japan (2) (5).
3. European rivalry in Asia (3) (6).

Group I

1. What is meant by the white man's burden?
2. To what extent was Asia influenced by European civilization before 1840?
3. How was the Opium war and the second Chinese War a step in the opening of China to European trade?
4. What important political and social reforms were accomplished in Japan between 1867 and 1889?

Group II

1. Explain the causes and immediate results of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895.
2. What is meant by spheres of influence? Illustrate.
3. Why was China Europeanized less rapidly than Japan?
4. What was the Boxer War? What effect did it have on China?

Group III

1. Why did Russia fight Japan? What were the effects on Japan, Russia, and China?
2. What events led to the revolution of 1911 in China?
3. Who was Yuan Shih-kai? Dr. Sun Yat-sen? Contrast the two men.
4. Why did European Powers appropriate Chinese Ports?

Conclusions:

What are the chief weaknesses in the Chinese republic? What factors are promoting progress in China? Is Japan more progressive than China? State your reasons.

The United States does not allow Chinese and Japanese to come to America. Why are they excluded? Should any other races be excluded? Are the Japanese and Chinese (already located in our country) a menace to our Anglo-Saxon origin of government? Are any other races more of a menace? Illustrate (if any).

Sources: Hayes, "Mod. Eur. Hls.," Vol. II, 560-576, 577-586, 586-597; Schapiro, "Mod. Eur. Hls.," 657-664, 664-671, 671-674.

B. AMERICAN HISTORY

Problem No. 10

Object: To study the Compromise of 1850 and the events that led to its formation.

Method: For information regarding the exercises and questions in Group I and Group II, read chapter XIII in "An American History," by Muzzey. Group III is made up of thought-provoking questions, based on information contained in chapters XII and XIII in Muzzey.

Group I

Exercises and Questions:

1. (a) What is a proviso? (b) How did the Wilmot Proviso connect the topic of slavery with the acquisition of new territory?
2. (a) What effort was made to extend slavery into Oregon? (b) Why was Oregon organized as a territory without slavery?
3. What four possible ways of dealing with the question of slavery in the territories were discussed in Congress in 1848?
4. (a) What new party was formed to combat the extension of slavery in the territories? (b) Explain clearly how it differed from the Liberty Party. (c) What is a doctrine? (d) What doctrine was made the basis of the present-day Republican Party?
5. What event forced the thirty-first Congress to stop arguing and to decide what the status of slavery should be in the new territory?

Group II

1. *Using your own words make a chart similar to the one on page 288 in Muzzey. Add another column in which you place the compromise ideas suggested by Clay in each instance.*
2. (a) What was Calhoun's attitude toward Clay's "Omni-bus Bill"? (b) Why did Webster reverse his attitude and speak in favor of the compromise of 1850?
3. How did the death of President Taylor aid in the passage of the Compromise of 1850?
4. (a) What did the North gain by the Compromise? (b) State two ways in which the Compromise aided the South.

Group III

1. If the Wilmot Proviso had been adopted, would it have excluded slavery from Texas? Explain.
2. Speaking in favor of the Compromise of 1850, Clay said: "You in the free States—you have got what is worth more than a thousand Wilmot Provisos. You have nature on your side." Webster said: "I would not take pains to reaffirm an ordinance of nature." What did they mean?
3. (a) How do you account for the little strip of Oklahoma just north of Texas? Why was not Texas, like Arizona and New Mexico, extended to the 37 parallel? (b) How do we know without consulting the scale of any map that that strip of Oklahoma is about thirty-five miles wide?

Conclusion: The Compromise of 1850 made possible a four years' truce. Thinking of the things which occurred in the United States during that four-year period, do you conclude that the compromise was worth while, or that it was simply a temporary and unsatisfactory method of settling a troublesome problem? *Explain fully.*

References: Muzzey: Chs. XII and XIII.

C. AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Problem No. 10

Object: To study the control over commerce exercised by our Government.

Method: (a) Read from Ch. 31 in Guitteau: Government and Politics in the United States; or Ch. 17 in Munro: The Government of the United States, just the pages listed below. (b) Do not summarize your reading. Number and answer the questions in the order given.

Group I

Questions and Exercises:

1. What did the Articles of Confederation contain in regard to commerce (1) (14).

2. What does the United States Constitution contain relating to commerce? (1) (14).
3. To what extent may the government exercise control over navigation? (2) (15).
4. Explain tariff for revenue, tariff for protection (3) (16).
5. What connection is there between tariff and commerce? (3) (16).
6. If the Constitution does not mention immigration, how can Congress exercise power over it? (4) (21).
7. Distinguish carefully between interstate and intrastate commerce (5) (22).
8. What are the duties of the Interstate Commerce Commission? (5) (22).
9. Why is anti-trust legislation discussed in connection with commerce? (6) (23).
10. Why is anti-trust legislation desirable? (6) (23).

Group II

1. May Congress prohibit the exportation of goods from the United States? Why?
2. Do high protective duties encourage formation of trusts? Explain.
3. Why do business men object to frequent tariff rate changes?
4. May Congress prohibit the immigration of persons of a particular nationality? Explain.

Group III

1. What are the advantages of reciprocity treaties?
2. Under what conditions may Congress regulate commerce carried on wholly within the boundaries of a state?
3. Name five great railroad systems engaged in interstate commerce.
4. May Congress forbid the transportation across state lines of goods manufactured by child labor? Why?

Conclusions.

List from page 287 in your textbook the twelve restrictions on railroads. Discuss in a good paragraph our policy of "control," as shown here, rather than "ownership," as advocated by Socialists.

References:

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| (1) Guitteau, pp. 380-381. | (14) Munro, pp. 246-247. |
| (2) Guitteau, pp. 381-382. | (15) Munro, pp. 249-250. |
| (3) Guitteau, pp. 384-389. | (16) Munro, pp. 252-253. |
| (4) Guitteau, pp. 390-392. | (21) Munro, pp. 255. |
| (5) Guitteau, pp. 392-394. | (22) Munro, pp. 256. |
| (6) Guitteau, pp. 397-398. | (23) Munro, pp. 260-261. |

In the February *Contemporary Review* J. Walter Collins discusses "The Turkish Census and What It Means." "The publication of the total figure," he says, "caused intense surprise in foreign circles acquainted with Turkey, while even the Turks themselves were impressed....The census was conducted in an orderly and reliable manner, and....it has become apparent that Turkey is a State with which one has to reckon....Turkey has nothing to fear from either Russia or Great Britain....No other country would dare to move without the implied consent of one of these two Powers. The internal situation appears to be stable, and the Ghazi seems to have unlimited possibilities before him. The census has materially helped him, as he knows who and what are behind him."

"The Problem of the Far East," says Prof. G. H. Blakeslie, "is the result of the intellectual renaissance through which the nation is passing, with the incidental questioning of social customs, teachings of sages, etc.; of the introduction of modern mechanical methods; and of her effort to set up modern political democratic institutions for herself" (*The Chinese Political and Social Review* for January).

Proposed Reorganization of the National Council for the Social Studies

BY PROFESSOR J. MONTGOMERY GAMBRILL, TEACHERS' COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

For several years there has been a strong current of opinion in the Council in favor of a more or less radical reorganization, and our Committee on Policy and Plans, of which Professor R. M. Tryon is Chairman, has several times reported explicit and vigorous recommendations for changes. It seemed desirable for several reasons to bring matters to a decision this year, and as a preliminary I sent out last December to about fifty members a letter of inquiry asking their views on the various questions that have been raised. This letter was sent to all current officers, to the ex-Presidents, to representatives of all affiliated societies and to certain members and non-members who had shown special interest or were likely to be of special service to us. The replies were virtually unanimous in favor of the fundamental features of the proposed reorganization, and even in matters of detail the differences of opinion were not very numerous or emphatic.

The time has now arrived to place the problem before the entire membership in order that it may be carefully considered in advance of the annual business meeting to be held in Minneapolis during the first week of July, and also to conform to the constitutional provision that proposed amendments shall be submitted to the members in advance of the meeting which is to act upon them. The following questions and statements were submitted in the circular letter and are now placed before the entire membership:

1. What policies and projects in pursuit of the purposes for which it exists should be undertaken by the National Council?
2. What machinery of control and administration will be most effective in carrying out these undertakings?
3. What financial support will be required, and should there be an increase in the membership dues?
4. What time and place are best for the annual business meeting?

The GENERAL AIMS should doubtless continue to be the encouragement of study and investigation, the dissemination of information, the promotion of interest and discussion, concerning the teaching of the social studies.

SPECIAL PROJECTS recommended by our Committee on Policy include publications intended to serve as practical aids to classroom teachers, and investigations of the present practice in elementary and high schools as revealed by courses of study, and of "methods of determining the content of social studies in the grades and the high school." It seems very desirable that publications of this nature be undertaken as soon as practicable, but additional

funds and further development of our organization will be required if we are to render this service to our members and to the profession.

Our present MACHINERY OF CONTROL AND ADMINISTRATION involves an effort to combine ultimate control by the general membership with a large governing board chosen on a federal plan from organizations largely outside of our membership. The system has proved awkward, unwieldy, and ineffective, in spite of the choice of many able and conscientious Directors. Our Committee on Policy recommends that the present Board of Directors be discontinued, and replaced by an Executive Committee composed of the current officers, the ex-Presidents, and several elected members. It may be wise to provide for an Advisory Board with membership substantially similar to that of the present Board of Directors, because some affiliation with these organizations is plainly desirable.

FINANCE.—Our dues are now \$2.25, including THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, the subscription to which separately is \$2.00. Thus our members pay for their membership in the Council only 25 cents more than ordinary subscribers pay for the magazine, an amount which many think might well be increased to \$1.00. If we continue and extend the publication of valuable pamphlet material distributed free to members and undertake additional activities, it certainly would be fair, as well as necessary, to increase the dues. Additional funds are also badly needed for the administration of the Secretary's office. Only because of especially fortunate circumstances has it been possible for the office to be conducted thus far at such small cost. Furthermore, special financial grants for particular projects are very much needed and should be sought from the Foundations or from public spirited individuals or institutions. Members who can give suggestions or assistance in this matter are earnestly requested to communicate with the Secretary.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING.—At the session in Dallas last year the time of the annual meeting was changed from February to July, with the National Education Association. Many members feel that the change was of very doubtful wisdom, notwithstanding the difficulties connected with the February meeting, when the Department of Superintendence is indifferent, if not actually hostile because of the large number of organizations meeting together at that time. A good attendance seems to be assured for the July meeting, but, on the other hand, it is not the most representative attendance. Very few of those who are most active in connection with the Council can attend regularly in July. Many are occupied in summer session teaching or in traveling, or do not

feel able to meet the frequently heavy expense of attending a meeting to which otherwise they would not go. Shall we return to the February meeting with the Department of Superintendence? Or, shall we follow another suggestion and hold our annual session during Christmas week at the same place with the American Historical Association and the corresponding associations in economics, political science and sociology, at least when all these organizations meet in the same city?

Those who replied to the circular letter voted heavily against the July date, but divided on the other question, with a preponderance in favor of the Christmas week session. It seems wise to leave the way open for the Board of Directors to vary the time and place from year to year in accordance with circumstances and what may appear to be the sentiment among the members. It should not be overlooked that this question refers entirely to the *business session*. Programs have been offered in July for several years and doubtless will continue to be offered at that time, and special or joint programs can always be put on for the other meetings when the officers deem it advisable.

SECRETARY.—Our present Secretary, Professor Edgar Dawson, has held this vitally important office since the Council was organized. It is unnecessary to tell our members that Professor Dawson has served us with extraordinary devotion, giving unreservedly of his time, effort, thought and personal funds, and that the success which the Council has achieved is in large measure due to his efforts. During the last two years Professor Dawson has requested that he be relieved as soon as possible of the burdens of this office and it is obvious that he has more than earned the relief which he asks. It is not an easy problem to find a man or woman adequately equipped in ability, scholarship, professional knowledge, and personal acquaintance, who also has a margin of time and energy and is favorably placed geographically and for office facilities. The recommendations of those who replied to my letter of inquiry are being submitted to the Nominating Committee, and further suggestions for their consideration should be forwarded promptly to the Secretary.

A revised constitution to embody the reorganization plans has been drafted and is here printed for the consideration of the members. It is formally submitted for adoption at the next business meeting of the National Council, to be held on Tuesday afternoon, July 3d, in Minneapolis.

PROPOSED CONSTITUTION FOR THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

ARTICLE I

Name and Purpose

SECTION 1. This organization shall be known as the National Council for the Social Studies. The term "social studies" includes history, civics, and other social sciences or composite courses of instruction in fields of social science.

SEC. 2. The purpose of this organization is to promote the association and co-operation of teachers of the social studies and of school administrators, supervisors, teachers of education, and others who are interested in obtaining from the social studies the best results in education. The National Council will especially undertake to stimulate and

encourage study and investigation, experiment, and research, concerning problems of teaching the social studies; and to serve as an agency for disseminating information and promoting discussion in a scientific spirit.

ARTICLE II

Membership, Dues, Meetings, and Periodical

SECTION 1. Any person in sympathy with the purpose of the National Council may become a member of the National Council on approval of the Board of Directors and the payment of the annual dues.

SEC. 2. The annual dues shall be determined by the Board of Directors, but until otherwise ordered the dues shall be three dollars a year, including a subscription to *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK* and such publications as the Board of Directors may determine.

SEC. 3. The time and place of the annual business meeting of the National Council shall be designated by the Board of Directors, subject to the condition that the meeting be held in connection with the winter session of the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association, or with one group of the historical or political and social science associations that customarily convene during Christmas week.

SEC. 4. The Board of Directors may select or establish an official periodical for the National Council, to be sent regularly to all members, but *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK* shall continue to be the official journal until the Board of Directors of the National Council or the publishers of the magazine expressly withdraw from the present contract.

ARTICLE III

Organization

SECTION 1. There shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, elected at the annual business meeting to serve until their successors are chosen at the next succeeding annual business meeting; *Provided*, That officers shall be elected at the business session in July, 1928, to serve until the regular business meeting held in December, 1929, or with the Department of Superintendence in 1930.

SEC. 2. There shall be a Board of Directors, composed of the four elected officers of the National Council, the Editor of *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK* (so long as this is the official periodical of the Council), the ex-Presidents of the National Council, and two additional elected members chosen at the annual business meeting to serve for one year.

SEC. 3. The Board of Directors, subject to the authority of the National Council voting in a regular business meeting, shall exercise general supervision and control over the business affairs of the National Council and over enterprises and activities undertaken to promote the purposes for which the Council is organized. The Board may appoint or authorize the appointment of committees or minor officers and may appropriate funds from the treasury.

SEC. 4. An Advisory Committee, composed of representatives of educational and learned societies or of special fields of study, may be constituted by the Board of Directors of the National Council.

SEC. 5. The President of the National Council, with the approval of the Board of Directors, shall appoint in advance of the annual business meeting a Nominating Committee, who shall submit to the National Council nominations for all offices to be filled by election at the annual business meeting, but additional nominations from the floor shall be in order.

SEC. 6. The status of the National Council as the Department of Social Studies of the National Education Association shall be continued, subject to alteration by vote of the National Council or of its Board of Directors.

ARTICLE IV

Amendments

This Constitution may be amended at any annual business meeting by a majority vote of the members present, but proposed amendments must be in the hands of the Secretary in writing at least two months in advance of the annual business meeting, to be by him announced to the members with the program of the annual meeting or through the official periodical of the National Council.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS—ELECTORAL AND POPULAR VOTES
1789-1924

Compiled by Stanley J. Folmesbee, University of Pennsylvania

The following tables present the chief statistics dealing with presidential elections. For the early years the presidential electors were chosen by the state legislatures, and, when the popular choice of these electors came to be adopted, the figures of popular votes are not complete. Hence no attempt has been made to give the popular vote before 1824, and even after that date the statistics of the popular elections are not always available or reliable.

It has not seemed practicable to give the popular vote by states for the candidates of the minor parties. The total popular vote for such candidates is given in the first summary table; to have attempted to give the state votes in each of these cases would have made the tables unwieldy.

The justification for printing these tables is found in the fact that nowhere in the popular manuals and almanacs are the electoral and popular votes by states given for the entire national period. Teachers of history and government often have occasion to note the facts of presidential elections, and their students need these figures for map work and for local history. It is hoped the tables will be of value for these purposes.

SUMMARY OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1789-1924

Year	Candidate	Party	Popular Vote	Electoral Vote	Year	Candidate	Party	Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
1789	Washington	Federalist		69	1884	Blaine	Republican	4,851,981	182
1792	Washington	Federalist		132	1884	Butler	Greenback	173,370	
1796	Adams, John	Federalist		71	1884	St. John	Prohibition	150,369	
1796	Jefferson	Dem-Repub		68	1888	Cleveland	Democrat	5,540,329	168
1800	Jefferson	Dem-Repub		73	1888	Harrison	Republican	5,439,853	233
1800	Burr	Dem-Repub		73	1888	Streeter	Union Lab.	146,935	
1800	Adams, John	Federalist		65	1888	Fink	Prohibition	249,506	
1800	Pinckney	Federalist		64	1888	Cowdrey	United Lab.	2,818	
1804	Jefferson	Dem-Repub		162	1892	Cleveland	Democrat	5,556,543	277
1804	Pinckney	Federalist		14	1892	Harrison	Republican	5,175,582	145
1808	Madison	Dem-Repub		122	1892	Bidwell	Prohibition	255,841	
1808	Clinton, Geo.	Dem-Repub		6	1892	Weaver	People's	1,040,886	22
1808	Pinckney	Federalist		47	1896	Wing	Soc. Labor	21,532	
1812	Madison	Dem-Repub		128	1896	McKinley	Republican	7,111,607	271
1812	Clinton, DeWitt	Federalist		89	1896	Bryan	Democrat	6,509,052	176
1816	Monroe	Dem-Repub		183	1896	Levering	Prohibition	131,312	
1816	King	Federalist		34	1896	Bentley	National	13,968	
1820	Monroe	Dem-Repub		231	1896	Matchett	Soc. Labor	36,373	
1820	Adams, J. Q.	Dem-Repub		1	1900	Palmer	Nat. Dem.	134,645	
1824	Jackson		152,901	99	1900	McKinley	Republican	7,219,525	292
1824	Adams, J. Q.		114,023	84	1900	Bryan	Democrat	6,358,737	155
1824	Crawford		46,979	41	1900	Woolley	Prohibition	209,157	
1824	Clay		47,217	37	1900	Barker	People's	50,599	
1828	Jackson	Democrat	647,276	178	1900	Debs	Soc. Dem.	94,864	
1828	Adams	Nat'l Repub.	508,064	83	1900	Malloney	Soc. Lab.	35,432	
1832	Jackson	Democrat	687,502	219	1900	Ellis	Union Ref.	5,698	
1832	Clay	Nat'l Repub.	530,189	49	1904	Roosevelt	Republican	7,628,785	336
1832	Wirt	Anti-Mason		7	1904	Parker	Democrat	5,084,442	140
1832	Floyd	Nullification		11	1904	Swallow	Prohibition	258,950	
1836	Van Buren	Democrat	762,978	170	1904	Debs	Socialist	402,895	
1836	Harrison	Whig		73	1904	Watson	People's	114,546	
1836	White	Whig	736,250	26	1908	Corregan	Soc. Lab.	33,490	
1836	Webster	Whig		14	1908	Taft	Republican	7,677,788	321
1836	Mangum	Anti-Jackson		11	1908	Bryan	Democrat	6,407,982	162
1840	Van Buren	Democrat	1,129,102	60	1908	Chafin	Prohibition	252,511	
1840	Harrison	Whig	1,275,016	234	1908	Debs	Socialist	420,890	
1840	Birney	Liberty	7,059		1908	Watson	People's	29,146	
1844	Polk	Democrat	1,337,243	170	1908	Hisgen	Independence	83,651	
1844	Clay	Whig	1,299,062	105	1912	Gilhaus	Soc. Lab.	14,021	
1844	Birney	Liberty	65,608		1912	Wilson	Democrat	6,293,019	435
1848	Taylor	Whig	1,360,099	163	1912	Roosevelt	Progressive	4,119,507	88
1848	Cass	Democrat	1,220,544	127	1912	Taft	Republican	3,484,956	8
1848	Van Buren	Free Soil	291,263		1912	Debs	Socialist	901,873	
1852	Pierce	Democrat	1,601,474	254	1912	Chafin	Prohibition	207,828	
1852	Scott	Whig	1,386,580	42	1912	Reimer	Soc. Lab.	29,259	
1852	Hale	Free Soil	156,149		1916	Wilson	Democrat	9,129,606	277
1856	Buchanan	Democrat	1,838,169	174	1916	Hughes	Republican	8,538,221	254
1856	Fremont	Republican	1,341,264	114	1916	Hanly	Prohibition	220,506	
1856	Fillmore	American	874,534	8	1916	Benson	Socialist	586,113	
1860	Douglas	Democrat	1,376,957	12	1916	Reimer	Soc. Labor	13,403	
1860	Breckinridge	Democrat	849,781	72	1916	Harding	Progressive	41,894	
1860	Lincoln	Republican	1,866,452	180	1920	Cox	Republican	16,152,200	404
1860	Bell	Union	588,879	39	1920	Debs	Democrat	9,147,353	127
1864	McClellan	Democrat	1,802,237	21	1920	Christensen	Socialist	919,799	
1864	Lincoln	Republican	2,213,665	212	1920	Watkins	Farmer-Lab.	265,411	
1868	Seymour	Democrat	2,703,249	80	1920	Cox	Prohibition	189,408	
1868	Grant	Republican	3,012,883	214	1920	Macauley	Soc.-Labor	31,175	
1872	Greeley	Democrat	2,834,125	*63	1924	Coolidge	Single Tax	5,837	
1872	O'Connor	Ind. Dem.	29,408		1924	Davis	Republican	15,725,016	382
1872	Grant	Republican	3,597,132	286	1924	LaFollette	Democrat	8,386,503	136
1872	Black	Temperance	5,648		1924	Johns	Progressive	4,822,856	13
1876	Tilden	Democrat	4,285,992	184	1924	Foster	Soc. Labor	36,428	
1876	Hayes	Republican	4,033,768	185	1924	Paris	Workers	36,386	
1876	Cooper	Greenback	81,737		1924	Nations	Prohibition	57,520	
1876	Smith	Prohibition	9,522		1924	Wallace	American	23,967	
1880	Hancock	Democrat	4,444,952	155	1928		Com. Land.	1,532	
1880	Garfield	Republican	4,454,416	214	1928				
1880	Weaver	Greenback	308,578		1928				
1880	Dow	Prohibition	10,305		1928				
1884	Cleveland	Democrat	4,874,986	219					

* Owing to the death of Mr. Greeley, the 63 electoral votes were variously cast. Thomas A. Hendricks received 42, B. Gratz Brown 18, Charles J. Jenkins 2, David Davis 1.

Presidential Elections

	1789	1792	1796	1800			1804		1808		1812		1816			
	Washington	Washington	Adams	Jefferson	Jefferson	Burr	Adams	Pinckney	Jefferson	Pinckney	Madison	Pinckney	Madison	Clinton	Monroe	King
Alabama.....																
Arizona.....																
Arkansas.....																
California.....																
Colorado.....																
Connecticut.....	7	9	9				9	9	9	9				9		9
Delaware.....	3	3	3				3	3						4		3
Florida.....																
Georgia.....	5	4		4		4			6		6		8		8	
Idaho.....																
Illinois.....																
Indiana.....																
Iowa.....																
Kansas.....																
Kentucky.....		4		4		4					7		12		12	
Louisiana.....																
Maine.....																
Maryland.....	6	8	7	4	5	5	5	5	9	2	9	2	6	5	3	
Massachusetts.....	10	16	16				16	16	19				9	22	8	
Michigan.....																22
Minnesota.....																
Mississippi.....																
Missouri.....																
Montana.....																
Nebraska.....																
Nevada.....																
New Hampshire.....	5	6	6				6	6	7					8	8	
New Jersey.....	6	7	7				7	7	8		8	7		8	8	
New Mexico.....																
New York.....	12	12	12	12	12	12			19		13			29	29	
North Carolina.....		12	1	11	8	8	4	4	14		11	3	15		15	
North Dakota.....																
Ohio.....									3		3				8	
Oklahoma.....																
Oregon.....																
Pennsylvania.....	10	15	1	14	8	8	7	7	20		20		25		25	
Rhode Island.....		4	4			4	4	3	4			4		4	4	
South Carolina.....	7	8		8	8	8			10		10		11		11	
South Dakota.....																
Tennessee.....				3	3	3			5		5		8		8	
Texas.....																
Utah.....																
Vermont.....		3	4			4		4	6		6		8		8	
Virginia.....	10	21	1	20	21	21			24		24		25		25	
Washington.....																
West Virginia.....																
Wisconsin.....																
Wyoming.....																
Total.....	69	132	71	68	73	73	65	64	162	14	122	47	128	89	183	34

1789.—Washington's name was on all the electoral ballots counted. Adams was second choice on 34, and was declared elected Vice-President. Rhode Island and North Carolina had not yet adopted the Constitution. The 8 votes of New York were lost, and two electors of Maryland and two of Virginia failed to appear on the day of voting.

1792.—Washington was again elected unanimously. Adams was the other name on 77 ballots, and he was declared Vice-President.

1800.—One of the Connecticut electors voted for John Jay. On account of the tie vote in the electoral college, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, which chose Jefferson, President and Burr, Vice-President by a vote of 8 states to 6, with two divided.

1808.—Clinton received the votes of 6 New York electors.

Presidential Elections

1820			1824				1828				1832							
	Monroe	J. Q. Adams	Jackson		Adams		Crawford		Clay		Jackson		Adams		Jackson		Clay	
			Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular
Alabama	3		5	9,443		2,416		1,680		67		5	17,138		1,938		7	
Arizona																		
Arkansas																		
California																		
Colorado																		
Connecticut	9					8	7,587		1,978				4,448	4	13,838		11,269	17,755
Delaware	4					1								3		4,110	3	4,276
Florida																		
Georgia	8											9	19,363			20,750		
Idaho																		
Illinois	3		2	1,901		1	1,542	219				3	9,560		4,662	5	14,147	5,429
Indiana	3		5	7,343			3,095					5	22,257		17,052	9	31,552	15,472
Iowa																		
Kansas																		
Kentucky	12			6,455								14	39,397		31,460		36,247	43,396
Louisiana	3		3			2						5	4,603		4,076	5	4,049	2,528
Maine	9					9	10,289	2,336				1	13,927	8	20,723	10	27,204	27,204
Maryland	11		7	14,523		3	14,632	3,364		695		5	24,565	6	25,527	3	19,156	19,160
Massachusetts	15					15	30,687	6,616					6,016	15	29,876		14,545	33,003
Michigan																		
Minnesota																		
Mississippi	2		3	3,234		1,694		119				3	6,772		1,581	4	5,919	
Missouri	3			987		311						3	8,272		3,400	4	5,192	
Montana																		
Nebraska																		
Nevada																		
New Hampshire	7	1						643					20,922	8	24,134	7	25,486	19,010
New Jersey	8		8	10,985			9,110	1,196					21,951	8	23,764	8	23,856	23,393
New Mexico																		
New York	29		1			26		5		4		20	140,763	16	135,413	42	168,497	154,896
North Carolina			15	20,415					15,621			15	37,857		13,918	15	24,862	4,563
North Dakota																		
Ohio	8			18,457		12,280				16		16	19,255		63,396	21	81,246	76,539
Oklahoma																		
Oregon																		
Pennsylvania	24		28	36,100		5,441		4,206		1,690		28	101,652		50,848	30	90,983	56,716
Rhode Island	4					2,145		200				11	821	4	2,754	2,126	4	2,810
South Carolina	11		11															
South Dakota																		
Tennessee	7		11	20,197		216		312				11	44,293		2,240	15	28,740	1,436
Texas																		
Utah																		
Vermont																		
Virginia	8					7							8,350	7	25,363		7,870	11,152
Washington	25			2,861		3,189		8,489		416		24	26,752		12,101	23	33,609	11,451
West Virginia																		
Wisconsin																		
Wyoming																		
Total	231	1	99	152,901	84	114,023	41	46,979	37	47,217	178	647,276	83	508,064	219	687,502	49	530,189

1820.—One New Hampshire vote went to John Quincy Adams.
1824.—No candidate having a majority in the electoral college, the election was decided by the House of Representatives in favor of Adams, who received the vote of 13 states as against 7 for Jackson and 4 for Crawford. The popular votes credited to Crawford in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were given to an opposition ticket, and that in New Jersey to a "Convention" ticket. The electors were appointed by the legislatures in Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, New York, South Carolina, and Vermont.
1828.—In this election, South Carolina was the only state which still chose her electors by the legislature. She continued this practice down to 1860, inclusive.
1832.—The popular vote for Wirt is included in the Clay vote. Wirt received the 7 electoral votes of Vermont. South Carolina gave her 11 electoral votes to John Floyd.

Presidential Elections

	1836						1840						1844						1848						1852					
	Van Buren			Whig			Harrison			Van Buren			Polk			Clay			Taylor			Cass			Pierce			Scott		
	Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular	
Alabama.....	7	20,506			15,612			28,471			33,991			37,740			26,084			30,482			31,363			26,881			15,038	
Arizona.....	3	2,400			1,238			5,160			6,766			9,546			5,504			7,588			9,300			12,173			7,404	
Arkansas.....																												35,407		
California.....																														
Colorado.....																														
Connecticut.....	8	19,291			18,749		8	31,601			25,296			29,841		6	32,832		6	30,314			27,046			33,249			30,359	
Delaware.....		4,153		3	4,733		3	5,967			4,874			5,996		3	6,278		3	6,421			5,898			6,318			6,293	
Florida.....																														
Georgia.....																														
Idaho.....		22,104		11	24,876		11	40,261			31,921		10	44,177			42,100		10	47,544			44,802			34,705			16,660	
Illinois.....	5	18,097			14,983			45,537			47,476		9	57,920			45,528			53,047			56,300			80,597			64,934	
Indiana.....		32,478		9	41,281		9	65,302			51,604		12	70,181			67,867			69,907			74,745			95,340			80,901	
Iowa.....																														
Kansas.....																														
Kentucky.....		33,435		15	36,955		15	58,489			32,616			51,988		12	61,255		12	67,141			49,720			53,806		12	57,068	
Louisiana.....	5	3,653			3,383		5	11,296			7,616		6	13,782			13,083		6	18,217			15,370			18,647			17,255	
Maine.....	10	22,990			15,239		10	46,612			46,201		9	45,719			34,378		9	35,125			39,880			41,609			32,543	
Maryland.....		22,168		10	25,852		10	33,528			28,752			32,676		8	35,984		8	37,702			34,528			40,020			35,066	
Massachusetts.....	3	33,542		14	41,287		14	72,874			51,944			52,846		12	67,418		12	61,070			35,281			44,569		13	52,683	
Michigan.....		7,332			4,045			22,933			21,131		5	27,759			24,337			23,940			30,687			41,842			33,859	
Minnesota.....																														
Mississippi.....	4	9,979			9,688		4	19,518			16,395		6	25,126			19,206			25,922			26,537			26,876			17,548	
Missouri.....	4	10,995			7,337			22,972			29,760		7	41,369			31,251			32,671			40,077			38,353			29,984	
Montana.....																														
Nebraska.....																														
Nevada.....																														
New Hampshire.....	7	18,722			6,228			26,163			32,761			27,160			17,866			14,751			27,763			29,997			16,147	
New Jersey.....		25,592		8	26,137		8	33,351			31,034			37,495		7	38,318		7	40,015			36,901			44,305			38,556	
New Mexico.....																														
New York.....	42	166,815			138,543		42	225,817			212,527		36	237,588			232,482		36	218,603			114,318			262,083			234,882	
North Carolina.....	15	26,910			23,626		15	46,376			33,782			39,287		11	43,232		11	43,550			4,869			39,744			39,058	
North Dakota.....		96,948		21	105,404		21	148,157			124,782			149,117		23	155,057			138,360			154,775			169,220			152,526	
Ohio.....																														
Oklahoma.....																														
Oregon.....																														
Pennsylvania.....	30	91,475			87,111		30	144,021			143,672		26	167,535			161,203		26	185,513			171,176			198,568			179,174	
Rhode Island.....	4	2,964			2,710		4	5,278			3,301			4,867		4	7,322		4	6,779			3,646			8,735			7,626	
South Carolina.....																														
South Dakota.....																														
Tennessee.....		26,129		15	36,168		15	60,391			48,289			59,917		13	60,030		13	64,705			58,419			57,018		12	58,898	
Texas.....																														
Utah.....																														
Vermont.....																														
Virginia.....																														
Washington.....	23	14,039		7	20,996		7	32,440			18,018			18,041		6	26,770		6	23,122			10,668			13,552			4,995	
West Virginia.....		30,261			23,468			42,501			43,893		17	49,570			43,677			45,124			46,586			73,858		5	22,173	
Wisconsin.....																														
Wyoming.....																														
Total.....	170	762,978		113	736,250		234	1,275,016		60	1,129,102		170	1,337,243		105	1,299,062		163	1,360,099		127	1,220,544		254	1,601,474		42	1,386,580	

1836.—The Whigs divided their votes among these candidates.

1836.—The Whigs divided their votes among three candidates; Harrison in Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont; White in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia; and Webster in Massachusetts. South Carolina gave her eleven votes to Mangum.

Presidential Elections

	1856						1860						1864			
	Buchanan		Fremont		Fillmore		Lincoln		Douglas		Breckinridge		Bell		Lincoln	
	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular
Alabama.....	9	46,739				28,552				13,651	9	48,831		27,875		
Arizona.....																
Arkansas.....	4	21,910				10,787				5,227	4	28,732		20,094		
California.....	4	53,365		20,691		36,165	4	39,173		38,316		34,334		6,817	5	62,134
Colorado.....																
Connecticut.....		34,995	6	42,715		2,615	6	43,792		15,522		14,641		3,291	6	44,693
Delaware.....	3	8,004		308		6,175		3,815		1,023	3	7,337		3,864	3	8,767
Florida.....	3	6,358				4,833				367	3	8,543		5,437		
Georgia.....	10	56,378				42,228				11,590	10	51,889		42,886		
Idaho.....																
Illinois.....	11	105,348		96,189		37,444	11	172,161		160,215		2,404		4,913	16	189,487
Indiana.....	13	118,670		94,375		22,386	13	139,033		115,509		12,295		5,306	13	150,422
Iowa.....		36,170	4	43,954		9,180	4	70,409		55,111		1,048		1,763	8	87,331
Kansas.....																
Kentucky.....	12	74,642		314		67,416		1,364		25,651		53,143		66,058	11	14,228
Louisiana.....	6	22,164				20,709				7,625	6	22,861		20,204		27,786
Maine.....		39,080	8	67,379		3,325	8	62,811		26,693		6,368		2,046		189,487
Maryland.....		39,115		281		47,460		2,294		5,966	8	42,482		41,760	7	72,278
Massachusetts.....		39,240	13	108,190		19,626	13	106,533		34,372		5,939		22,331	12	40,153
Michigan.....		52,136	6	71,762		1,660	6	88,480		65,057		805		405	8	126,742
Minnesota.....																85,352
Mississippi.....	7	35,446					4	22,069		11,920		748		62	4	25,060
Missouri.....	9	58,164				24,195		3,283		3,283	7	40,797		25,040		17,375
Montana.....						48,524		17,028		58,801		31,317		58,372	11	72,991
Nebraska.....																31,026
Nevada.....																
New Hampshire.....		32,789	5	38,345		422	5	37,519		25,881		2,112		441	2	9,826
New Jersey.....	7	46,943		28,338		24,115	4	58,324		62,801				60,723	5	36,595
New Mexico.....			35	276,007		124,604	35	362,646		312,510					7	68,014
New York.....		195,878													33	368,726
North Carolina.....	10	48,246				36,886				2,701	10	48,539		44,990		
North Dakota.....																
Ohio.....		170,874	23	187,497		28,126	23	231,610		187,232		11,405		12,194	21	265,154
Oklahoma.....							3	5,270		3,951		5,006		183	3	9,888
Oregon.....																8,457
Pennsylvania.....	27	230,710		147,510		82,175	27	268,030		16,765		178,871		12,776	26	296,389
Rhode Island.....		6,680	4	11,467		1,675	4	12,244		7,707	8	Legislature		Legislature	4	14,343
South Carolina.....	8															
South Dakota.....																
Tennessee.....	12	73,638				66,178				11,350		64,709		69,274		
Texas.....	4	31,169				15,639					4	47,548		15,438		
Utah.....																
Vermont.....		10,569	5	39,561		545	5	33,808		8,649		1,866		217	5	42,422
Virginia.....	15	86,706		291		60,310		1,929		16,290		74,323		74,681		13,325
Washington.....																
West Virginia.....																
Wisconsin.....		52,843	5	66,090		579	5	86,110		65,021		888		161	5	23,223
Wyoming.....															8	79,564
Total.....	174	1,838,169	114	1,341,264	8	874,534	180	1,866,452	12	1,376,957	72	849,781	39	588,879	212	2,213,665
															21	1,802,237

1856.—Fillmore, the candidate of the American party, received the eight electoral votes of Maryland. His total popular vote was 874,534.
 1860.—The popular votes recorded for Douglas in New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island, and for Breckinridge in Pennsylvania were given to fusion tickets. The electoral votes given to Lincoln in New Jersey were due to the defeat of four fusion electors by "scratching."
 1864.—Nevada chose three electors, one of whom died before the election.

Presidential Elections

	1868						1872						1876						1880					
	Grant			Seymour			Grant			Greeley			Hayes			Tilden			Garfield			Hancock		
	Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular	
Alabama	8	76,366			72,086		10	90,272			79,444			68,708		10	102,989			56,221		10	91,185	
Arizona																								
Arkansas	5	22,152			19,078		6	41,373			37,927			38,669		6	58,071			42,436		6	60,775	
California	5	54,592			54,078		6	54,020			40,718			76,468			76,468			76,468		5	80,426	
Colorado																				27,450			24,647	
Connecticut	6	50,641			47,600		6	50,638			45,880			59,034		6	61,934			67,071			64,415	
Delaware					10,980		3	11,115			10,206			10,752		3	13,381			14,133		3	15,275	
Florida	3	7,623			10,822		4	17,763			15,427			23,849			22,927			23,654		4	27,964	
Georgia					102,822		9	62,550			76,356			50,446		11	130,088			54,086		11	102,470	
Idaho																								
Illinois	16	250,293			199,143		21	241,944			184,938			278,232			258,601			318,037			277,321	
Indiana	13	176,552			166,980		15	186,147			163,632			208,011		15	213,526			232,164			225,522	
Iowa	8	120,399			74,040		11	131,566			71,196			171,326			112,121			183,927			105,845	
Kansas	3	31,049			14,019		5	67,048			32,970			78,322			37,902			121,549			59,801	
Kentucky					115,889			88,766			99,995			97,156		12	159,696			106,306		12	149,068	
Louisiana					80,225		7	71,663			57,029			75,315			70,508			38,637		8	65,067	
Maine	7	70,426			42,396		7	61,422			29,087			66,300			49,917			74,039			65,171	
Maryland					62,357		7	66,760			67,687			71,981		8	91,780			78,515		8	93,706	
Massachusetts	12	136,477			59,408		13	133,472			59,260			150,063			108,777			165,205			111,960	
Michigan	8	128,550			97,069		11	138,455			78,355			166,534			141,095			185,341			131,597	
Minnesota	4	43,542			28,072		5	55,117			34,423			72,962		5	48,799			93,903			53,315	
Mississippi					82,175		8	82,175			47,288			52,605		8	112,173			34,854		8	75,750	
Missouri	11	85,671			59,788			119,196			151,434			145,029		15	203,077			153,567		15	208,609	
Montana																								
Nebraska	3	9,729			5,439		3	18,328			7,812			31,916			17,554			54,979			28,523	
Nevada																								
New Hampshire	3	6,480			5,218		3	8,413			6,236			10,383			9,308			8,732		3	9,613	
New Jersey	5	38,191			31,224		5	37,168			31,424			41,539			38,509			44,852			40,794	
New Mexico					83,001		9	91,656			76,456			103,517		9	115,962			120,555		9	122,565	
New York					429,883		33	440,736			387,281			489,207		35	521,949			555,544			534,511	
North Carolina					84,090		10	94,769			70,094			108,417		10	125,427			115,874		10	124,208	
North Dakota																								
Ohio	21	280,128			236,700		22	281,852			244,321			330,698			323,182			375,048			340,821	
Oklahoma																								
Oregon					11,125		3	11,819			7,730			15,206			14,149			20,619			19,948	
Pennsylvania	26	342,280			313,382		29	349,589			212,041			384,184			366,204			444,704			407,428	
Rhode Island	4	12,993			6,548		4	13,665			5,329			15,787			10,712			18,195			10,779	
South Carolina	6	62,301			45,237		7	72,290			22,703			91,870			90,896			58,071		7	112,312	
South Dakota																								
Tennessee	10	56,757			26,311			85,655			94,391			89,566		12	133,166			107,677		12	128,191	
Texas																								
Utah																								
Vermont	5	44,167			12,045		5	41,481			10,927			44,428			20,350			45,567			18,316	
Virginia																								
Washington																								
West Virginia	5	29,025			20,306		5	32,315			29,451			42,046		5	56,495			46,243		5	57,391	
Wisconsin	8	108,857			84,710		10	104,997			86,477			130,070			123,926			144,400			114,649	
Wyoming																								
Total	214	3,012,883		80	2,703,249		286	3,597,132		63	2,834,125		185	4,033,768		184	4,285,992		214	4,454,416		155	4,444,952	

1868.—The Florida electors were appointed by the legislature. There was no vote in Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia as these states had not been readmitted to the Union by Congress.
 1872.—Greeley having died before the meeting of the electoral college, most of his electoral votes were cast for Thomas A. Hendricks (42). The remainder were given to B. Gratz Brown (18), Charles J. Jenkins (2), and David Davis (1). The six votes of Arkansas, cast for Grant, were also rejected. The popular count in Louisiana and the eight votes of both sets of electors were rejected by Congress; the figures given in the table are those of one returning board; those given by the other board are as follows: Greeley, 66,467 and Grant, 59,975.
 1876.—The Colorado electors were chosen by the legislature. The Democratic count in Fla. was: Tilden, 24,431 and Hayes, 24,340; and in Louisiana: Tilden, 83,723 and Hayes, 77,174.

Presidential Elections

	1884						1888						1892						1896								
	Cleveland			Blaine			Harrison			Cleveland			Cleveland			Harrison			Weaver			McKinley			Bryan		
	Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular		Elec.	Popular	
Alabama.....	10	93,951			59,591			56,197		10	117,320		11	138,138			9,197			85,181			54,737		11	131,226	
Arizona.....					50,895			58,752		7	85,962		8	87,834			46,884			11,831			37,512		8	110,103	
Arkansas.....		89,288		8	102,416		8	124,816		7	117,729		8	117,908		1	17,729			25,226			146,688		8	144,766	
California.....		27,723		3	36,290		3	50,774			37,567						38,620		4	53,584			26,271		4	161,269	
Colorado.....					65,923			74,584		6	74,920		6	82,395			77,025			806			110,285		6	56,740	
Connecticut.....	3	16,964		3	12,951		3	12,973		3	16,414		3	18,083			16,083			13			20,452		3	16,615	
Delaware.....	4	31,766			28,031			26,657		4	39,561		4	30,143			4,843			4,843			11,257		4	31,958	
Florida.....	12	94,667			48,603			40,496		12	100,499		13	129,361			48,305			42,937			60,091		13	94,672	
Georgia.....																	8,599		3	10,520			6,324		3	23,192	
Idaho.....																											
Illinois.....		312,355		22	337,474		22	370,473			348,278		24	426,281			399,288			22,207			607,130		24	464,523	
Indiana.....	15	244,990		15	238,463		15	263,361			261,013		15	262,740			255,615			22,208			323,754		15	305,573	
Iowa.....		177,316		13	197,089		13	211,598			179,887			196,367		13	219,795			20,595			289,293		13	223,741	
Kansas.....		90,132		9	154,406		9	182,934			103,744			176,813			157,237		10	163,111			159,541		10	171,810	
Kentucky.....	13	152,961			118,122			155,134		13	183,800		13	175,461			135,441			23,500			218,171		12	217,890	
Louisiana.....	8	62,540			46,347			30,484		8	85,032		8	87,922			13,281			13,282			22,037		8	77,175	
Maine.....		52,140		6	72,209		6	73,734			50,481			48,044			62,931			2,381			80,461		6	34,587	
Maryland.....	8	96,932			85,699			99,986		8	106,168		8	113,866			92,736			796			136,978		8	104,746	
Massachusetts.....		122,481		14	146,724		14	183,892			151,856			176,813		15	202,814			3,210			278,976		15	278,976	
Michigan.....		149,835		13	192,669		13	236,370			213,459		5	202,296		9	222,708			19,892			293,582		14	237,268	
Minnesota.....		70,144		7	111,923		7	142,492			104,385			100,920		9	122,823			29,313			193,503		9	139,735	
Mississippi.....	9	76,510			43,509			30,096		9	85,471		9	40,237			1,406			10,256			5,123		9	63,793	
Missouri.....	16	235,988			202,929			236,257		16	261,974		17	268,398			226,918			41,213			304,940		17	363,652	
Montana.....																3	18,851			7,334			10,494		3	42,537	
Nebraska.....		54,391		5	79,912		5	108,425			80,552			24,943		8	87,227			83,134			103,064		8	115,999	
Nevada.....		5,578		3	7,193		3	7,229			5,362			714			2,811			7,264			1,938		3	8,377	
New Hampshire.....		39,183		4	43,249		4	45,728			43,458			42,081		4	45,658			292			57,444		4	21,650	
New Jersey.....	9	127,798			123,440			144,344		9	151,493		10	171,042			156,068			969			221,367		10	133,675	
New Mexico.....																											
New York.....	36	563,154			562,005		36	648,759			635,757		36	654,868			609,350			16,429			819,838		36	551,369	
North Carolina.....					125,068			134,784		11	147,902		11	132,951			100,342			44,736			155,222		11	174,488	
North Dakota.....																1	17,719		1	17,700			26,335		3	20,686	
Ohio.....		368,280		23	400,082		23	416,054			396,455		1	404,115		22	405,187			14,850			525,991		23	477,497	
Oklahoma.....																											
Oregon.....		24,604		3	26,860		3	33,291			26,522			14,243		3	35,002		1	26,965			48,779		4	46,662	
Pennsylvania.....		392,785		30	473,804		30	526,091			446,633			452,264		32	516,011			8,714			728,300		32	433,230	
Rhode Island.....		12,391		4	19,030		4	21,968			17,530			24,335		4	26,972			228			37,437		4	14,459	
South Carolina.....		69,890			21,733			13,736		9	65,825		9	54,692			13,345			2,407			9,313		9	58,801	
South Dakota.....	9																										
Tennessee.....	12	133,258			124,078			138,988		12	158,779		12	138,874			100,331			23,447			148,773		12	166,268	
Texas.....																											
Texas.....	13	225,309			93,141			88,422		13	234,883		15	239,148			81,444			99,688			167,520		15	370,434	
Utah.....																											
Vermont.....		17,331		4	39,514			45,192			16,785			16,325		4	37,992			43			50,991		3	10,607	
Virginia.....	12	185,497			139,356			150,438		12	151,977		12	163,977			113,262			12,275			135,388		12	154,985	
Washington.....																											
West Virginia.....																											
Wisconsin.....	6	67,317			63,096			77,791		6	79,664		6	84,467			80,293			4,166			104,414		6	92,927	
Wyoming.....		146,459		11	161,157		11	176,553			155,232		12	177,335			170,791			9,909			268,135		12	165,523	
Wyoming.....																											
Total.....	219	4,874,986		182	4,851,981		233	5,439,853		168	5,540,329		277	5,556,543		145	5,175,582		22	1,040,886		271	7,111,607		176	6,509,052	

1896.—Bryant was also the Populist candidate; the 222,583 Populist votes are included in the Bryan total.

Presidential Elections

	1916				1920				1924				1928			
	Wilson		Hughes		Harding		Cox		Coolidge		Davis					
	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular	Elec.	Popular
Alabama	12	99,409	...	22,809	...	74,690	12	163,254	...	45,005	12	112,966	...	112,966	...	...
Arizona	3	33,170	...	20,524	...	37,016	...	30,516	...	30,516	...	26,235	...	26,235	...	...
Arkansas	9	112,148	...	47,148	...	71,117	9	107,408	...	40,564	9	84,795	...	84,795	...	...
California	13	466,200	...	462,394	...	624,992	13	229,191	...	73,250	...	105,514	...	105,514	...	...
Colorado	6	178,816	...	102,308	...	173,248	...	104,936	...	195,171	...	75,238	...	75,238	...	...
Connecticut	...	99,786	...	106,514	...	229,238	...	120,721	...	246,322	...	110,184	...	110,184	...	...
Delaware	...	24,753	...	26,011	...	52,858	...	39,911	...	52,441	...	33,445	...	33,445	...	...
Florida	6	55,984	...	14,611	...	44,853	6	90,515	...	30,633	6	62,083	...	62,083	...	...
Georgia	14	125,845	...	11,225	...	43,720	14	107,162	...	30,300	14	123,200	...	123,200	...	...
Idaho	4	70,054	...	55,368	...	88,975	4	46,579	...	69,879	...	24,256	...	24,256	...	...
Illinois	...	950,229	...	1,152,549	...	1,420,480	...	534,395	...	1,453,321	...	576,975	...	576,975	...	...
Indiana	...	334,063	...	341,005	...	696,370	...	511,364	...	703,042	...	492,245	...	492,245	...	...
Iowa	...	221,699	...	280,449	...	634,674	...	227,921	...	537,635	...	162,600	...	162,600	...	...
Kansas	10	314,588	...	277,658	...	369,268	10	185,464	...	407,671	...	156,319	...	156,319	...	...
Kentucky	13	269,990	...	241,854	...	452,480	13	233,450	...	398,966	...	374,855	...	374,855	...	...
Louisiana	10	79,875	...	6,466	...	38,538	10	87,519	...	24,670	10	93,218	...	93,218	...	...
Maine	...	64,127	...	69,506	...	136,355	...	58,961	...	138,440	...	41,964	...	41,964	...	...
Maryland	8	136,359	...	117,347	...	236,117	8	180,626	...	162,414	...	148,072	...	148,072	...	...
Massachusetts	...	247,885	...	268,784	...	681,153	...	276,691	...	703,489	...	280,831	...	280,831	...	...
Michigan	...	285,151	...	339,097	...	762,865	...	233,450	...	874,631	...	152,238	...	152,238	...	...
Minnesota	...	179,152	...	179,544	...	519,421	...	142,994	...	420,759	...	55,913	...	55,913	...	...
Mississippi	10	80,422	...	4,253	...	11,576	10	69,277	...	8,546	10	100,475	...	100,475	...	...
Missouri	18	398,025	...	369,339	...	727,162	18	574,799	...	648,486	...	572,753	...	572,753	...	...
Montana	4	101,063	...	66,750	...	109,430	4	57,372	...	74,138	...	33,805	...	33,805	...	...
Nebraska	8	158,827	...	117,257	...	247,498	8	119,608	...	218,585	...	137,289	...	137,289	...	...
Nevada	3	17,776	...	12,127	...	15,479	3	9,851	...	11,243	...	5,909	...	5,909	...	...
New Hampshire	4	43,779	...	45,723	...	95,196	4	62,662	...	98,575	...	57,201	...	57,201	...	...
New Jersey	...	211,645	...	269,352	...	611,670	...	258,229	...	676,277	...	298,043	...	298,043	...	...
New Mexico	3	33,693	...	31,163	...	57,634	3	46,668	...	54,745	...	48,542	...	48,542	...	...
New York	...	759,426	...	869,115	...	1,871,167	...	731,238	...	1,820,058	...	950,796	...	950,796	...	...
North Carolina	12	168,383	...	120,988	...	232,848	12	305,447	...	191,753	12	284,270	...	284,270	...	...
North Dakota	5	55,206	...	53,471	...	160,072	5	37,422	...	94,931	...	13,858	...	13,858	...	...
Ohio	24	604,161	...	514,753	...	1,182,022	24	780,037	...	1,176,130	...	477,888	...	477,888	...	...
Oklahoma	10	148,113	...	97,233	...	243,464	10	215,808	...	226,242	10	255,798	...	255,798	...	...
Oregon	...	120,087	...	126,813	...	143,592	...	80,019	...	142,579	...	67,589	...	67,589	...	...
Pennsylvania	...	521,784	...	703,734	...	1,218,215	...	503,202	...	1,401,481	...	409,192	...	409,192	...	...
Rhode Island	...	40,394	...	44,858	...	107,463	...	55,062	...	125,286	...	76,606	...	76,606	...	...
South Carolina	9	61,846	...	1,550	...	2,244	9	64,170	...	1,123	9	49,008	...	49,008	...	...
South Dakota	...	59,191	...	64,217	...	110,692	...	35,938	...	101,299	...	27,214	...	27,214	...	...
Tennessee	12	153,282	...	116,223	...	219,829	12	206,558	...	130,862	12	158,537	...	158,537	...	...
Texas	20	286,514	...	64,999	...	114,269	20	288,767	...	130,023	20	484,605	...	484,605	...	...
Utah	4	84,025	...	54,137	...	81,555	4	56,639	...	77,327	...	47,001	...	47,001	...	...
Vermont	...	22,708	...	40,250	...	68,212	...	20,919	...	80,498	...	16,124	...	16,124	...	...
Virginia	12	102,824	...	49,356	...	87,456	12	141,670	...	73,359	12	139,797	...	139,797	...	...
Washington	7	183,388	...	167,244	...	223,137	7	84,298	...	220,224	...	42,842	...	42,842	...	...
West Virginia	...	140,403	...	143,124	...	282,007	...	220,789	...	288,635	...	257,232	...	257,232	...	...
Wisconsin	...	193,042	...	221,323	...	498,576	...	113,422	...	311,614	...	68,115	...	68,115	...	...
Wyoming	3	28,316	...	21,698	...	35,091	3	17,429	...	41,858	...	12,868	...	12,868	...	...
Total	277	9,129,606	254	8,538,221	404	16,152,200	127	9,147,353	382	15,725,016	136	8,386,503	...	8,386,503	...	...

1924.—La Follette, Independent Progressive, and Socialist, received the thirteen electoral votes of Wisconsin.

Recent Happenings in the Social Studies

BY COMMITTEE ON CURRENT INFORMATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

W. G. Kimmel, Chairman

PROGRAM OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL STUDIES

The eighth annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies will be held at Minneapolis, July 2 and 3, 1928. The following addresses have been announced: "Education for Citizenship," J. M. McConnell, Commissioner of Education, State of Minnesota; "Development of International Attitudes in the Schools," H. E. Wilson, University High School, University of Chicago; "Educational Policies of Religious and Peace Organizations," Miss Sylva Hansen, University High School, University of Iowa; "The Northwest in American History," Theodore C. Blegen, Assistant Superintendent of State Historical Association and Professor of History, University of Minnesota; "Adaptation of the Contract Method to Supervised Study," Mary S. Gold, University High School, University of Minnesota; "Provision for Individual Differences," Ruth M. Johnson, Wisconsin High School, University of Wisconsin; "Some Problems of Social Studies in the Elementary Grades," Prudence Cutright, Supervisor of the Social Studies in the Minneapolis Public Schools; "Model Classroom Equipment for the Social Studies," Senior High—R. H. Gray, John Marshall High School, Minneapolis, Junior High—Aileene Lynch, Roosevelt High School, Minneapolis; Business Meeting.

In these days, when political opportunists clothe themselves in the mantle of patriotism and find a convenient means to arouse and unleash ancient prejudices through the exhortation of authors of textbooks, it is fitting and proper that some one should make a survey of the means the English people use to inculcate patriotism and to develop respect for law and order. I. L. Kandel, in the February issue of *Teachers' College Record*, contributes an article, "The Making of Citizens in England." The writer makes copious quotations from books on methods, debates in Parliament reported in English papers, bulletins of the Board of Education, and other sources of information. In general, the teaching of history, patriotism, citizenship, etc., are left to the good judgment of the classroom teachers; the teaching of these subjects is not regarded as an administrative matter, nor is it regarded as a subject for mandatory legislation. There is no attempt to use rituals, creeds, and other direct and mandatory controls. There is emphasis upon the foundation of truth in the subjects studied, and the avoidance of propaganda; much emphasis on training pupils to think in terms of historical materials, with the avoiding of "sermonizing" and exhortation.

One of the vital problems in the teaching of the social studies today is how to cope with the endless propaganda, some of which is undoubtedly vicious and subversive in character, that mandatory legislation, external pressure, and organized opinion attempt to introduce in the social studies courses. Reginald Lennard, in the January issue of the *Edinburgh Review*, discusses "Propaganda and the Teaching of History." Propaganda in education is carried forward by those who most vigorously denounce it. There is need to distinguish between history and political education because the latter, while it is a desirable and essential phase of education, lends itself easily to the in-

culcation and indoctrination of opinion not based on fact. History teaching must be true to the nature of history and the nature of teaching. The aim of the teacher is enlightenment, not conversion; "it is his business to awaken a spirit of criticism, to stimulate thought, and to destroy prejudice."

The writer distinguishes between "heretical propaganda" and "orthodox propaganda"; that is, conventionally accepted opinion furthered by organized groups which finds its way in syllabi, mandatory legislation, etc. Heretical propaganda is less harmful, because it tends to arouse thought before acceptance. Elementary schools are most subject to propaganda.

The difficulty of making history teaching true to the nature of history lies in the distortion of historical perspective in order to emphasize religion, to stress social progress, to avoid teaching of wars. All are based on the false premise that only what is good and worthy of emulation should be taught. True perspective, however, requires treatment of things in order of importance; it involves the subordination of internationalism to nationalism, because the latter has been more important in past history. When the facts and their relative importance undergo change in the judgments of historians, and that change seems to be in the direction some propagandists welcome and others condemn, it is wrong to assume that the historian has turned propagandist.

The Creighton Lecture for 1927, in the University of London, entitled, "History and Citizenship," was delivered by G. C. Grant Robertson. It is published, with certain passages omitted, in the *Contemporary Review* for January. The literature on Citizenship falls into four groups: philosophical, analytical and historical, ethical, and psychological. Considering the historical aspect, what does history contribute to citizenship? In the evolution of British history all elements tend to synthesize and produce new forms and a new integration. Each step represents a qualitative difference from the preceding stage, and is a quantitative change in the direction of the course of events. Another stage then follows the disintegration of the preceding one. The continuity of events and the distance traversed can be measured by marking off the stages. Three characteristics stand out in British history: (1) its length, (2) inexhaustible adaptability of the people, (3) definable stages of development with well-marked transitional links connecting them.

The same magazine contains an appraisal of "The Enlarged Powers of the American President," based on the decision of the case *Myers vs. United States* (1926), by Lindsay Rogers. The case, involving the removal of a minor postmaster by President Wilson without consulting the Senate, resulted in a six-three decision that the President has such power, Mr. Justice Brandeis, Mr. Justice McReynolds, and Mr. Justice Holmes dissenting. The decision, in addition to declaring the Tenure of Office Act unconstitutional, leaves only employees appointed by heads of departments protected against the President's power of removal. The writer discusses the implications of this increased power; he doubts any extension of the use of the power of removal because of the possibility of the use of retaliatory powers by Congress.

"The Board of Education Report on the Teaching of History in London" is discussed by J. A. White in the January issue of *History* (London). The Report was prepared as a result of the inspection of 41 elementary schools, exclusive of Central Schools, which were believed to be a fair sample of all elementary schools. The data were compiled, in addition to the results of inspection, through the use of a questionnaire and oral and written examinations given to the upper class in each school. Ad-

verse criticisms include: (1) lack of knowledge of historical facts, (2) lack of chronology, (3) overloaded syllabuses, (4) inadequate equipment, (5) lack of desirable specialization, (6) too much oral instruction, (7) more judicious use of time in correlation of History with Art and Handwork. Only two of the 45 schools contained adequate equipment and adequate history libraries, and fifteen had no equipment beyond the textbook. More than half of the schools devote only 60 to 90 minutes per week to the study of history.

In the consideration of some of the adverse criticisms, the writer raises the question whether it is necessary or desirable to give external written examinations, and asserts that all questions should take into consideration modern methods of history teaching. History must contribute toward the development of a way of viewing contemporary life, because pupils can never escape from society. In the acquisition of a way of looking at historical materials, pupils need a guide in the form of a textbook. The report mentions the fact that poor textbooks are still used in some instances, even though better books are available.

The teacher is indispensable; he must be interested and be prepared to do considerable and continuous reading, because much of his success as a teacher of history depends upon wide reading with a certain degree of specialization. Despite the many objections to specialization on the part of teachers at the upper-grade levels, such specialization has many advantages in the division of the work for instructional purposes and in the need and use of equipment. The writer also questions the controversial proposal that history be taught through the biographical approach.

Henry Maeder has published his thesis, entitled, *Education Outcomes in the Teaching of Ancient History* (Philadelphia: Heidelberg Press, 1927). The problem which the writer set for investigation was a consideration of the goals of instruction in Ancient History. The method of procedure included an examination of all available sources in bibliographies for a list of objectives, followed by consideration of some fifty secondary school texts and an analysis of eight of them; an examination of the various courses of study, bulletins, pamphlets, and syllabi issued by departments of education—national, state, and local—and a survey of the periodical literature, reports of commissions, and volumes on the teaching of history. Through an examination of these the writer has been able to present detailed lists of objectives, classified under the cardinal principles of secondary education. He presents a list of definitions of terminology used in the investigation. The major part of the thesis deals with a consideration of four major outcomes of the teaching of history, which are analyzed with appropriate concrete illustrations. Much attention is given to the second outcome, the development of a history vocabulary, and concrete methods of procedure in developing the range of vocabulary are presented. Probably the most valuable parts of the thesis are the four appendixes, in which the author presents a detailed list of objectives and outcomes, a study of the distribution of space in eight books, and lists of names used in three textbooks, together with a detailed list of illustrative materials and a bibliography.

The interest of curriculum-makers in the movement toward the unified or combined courses in the social studies is now producing results. The latest addition is a new course of study, entitled, *The Social Studies for Grades V, VI, VII, and VIII for Use in the Public Schools of Dayton, Ohio*, published by a Committee on the Social Studies (Dayton, Ohio: Board of Education, 1927. Price, \$3.50). The course for each grade is organized about three general concepts: broad-mindedness, co-operation, and service. There are eight pages of objectives; the general objectives are followed by concrete and limited objectives, with specific page references on which materials are presented to meet the objectives. The general plan of the publication, which numbers 427 pages, is to present the

objectives on the left side of the page, with the suggested procedures given in outline form, with specific references on the right side of the page. The material for each grade is followed at definite points by bibliographies, which are relatively complete. There is an attempt to include graphic materials, together with suggestive assignments of materials.

The plan of the materials indicates certain rather marked changes in organization from the usual types of courses of study. The plan of the statement of objectives paralleled by suggestive procedures should rather effectively foster in the teacher habits of thinking in terms of results of close relation of the work to the objectives, and definiteness of procedure which should result in more effective instructions. While the committee makes a generous use of materials, there is little opportunity for appealing to the individual differences in ability and interest of pupils. The organization about three general concepts marks another departure from the usual form of courses of study. One wonders whether the values of history and geography will be realized through the use of those portions of both subjects in which the materials are viewed from only one point of view. The test of any course is the results obtained, and teachers of the social studies will look forward with interest to the results obtained through the use of a course focussed and based on broad concepts.

One of the most complete and unique courses of study in the social studies for the primary grades which the writer has seen this year is the *Course of Study in Indian Life*, by Frances R. Dearborn, Ernest Horn, and Georgia M. Brown (Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa Extension Bulletin No. 143, College of Education Series No. 18. Price, \$1.00). This 78-page publication contains detailed outlines, references for pupils and teachers, projects and other activities for twenty-eight problems. Numerous photographs of the pupils and their activities are a feature of the course. There is a four-page bibliography.

The January issue of *School Progress* (State Teachers' College, Mankato, Minn.) contains an article by George J. Miller, "Enduring Elements in Present Geographic Education." The writer discusses the objectives of geography in current courses of study, the use of tests, the problem method, and the place of geography in the curriculum. Geography "deals primarily with the relations of man to his natural environment and hence is not primarily a social study." The writer is definitely opposed to unified courses in the social studies, which include geography, because sufficient geography materials are not included to enable pupils to gain adequate knowledge of concepts in order to reason accurately on different phases of the problems. While geography is not a social study, it can make contributions to the social studies through emphasis on materials which contribute to social welfare, "but it must be genuine, unadulterated geography, if abilities sought are to be developed."

In the use of tests, the writer discusses two cautions: (1) too much emphasis on results of one test, (2) permitting results on tests to determine the content for instruction. Factors in the misuse of the problem method include: (1) attempts to make the problem method the only method; (2) solving of the problem by the teacher rather than by the pupils; (3) wrong conception "of the essential quality of a real problem."

Howard E. Wilson, in the March issue of the *School Review*, discusses "Cartoons as an Aid in the Teaching of History." He mentions the wide appeal of the cartoon, discusses types of cartoons, and then describes pupils' efforts in the making of cartoons. Two examples of pupils' work are given. Wilson divides cartoons into the following types: (1) cartoons which portray recent events in terms of historical events or movements; (2) cartoons found in old publications which help to interpret events in the light of contemporary opinion and evaluation. Uses

to which cartoons are put in the classroom are mentioned, and some suggestions are made concerning methods and the evaluation of pupils' work.

In the April issue of *Educational Review*, Edwin J. Dahl, in an article, entitled, "Social Studies Failing to Hit the Mark," presents the results of a questionnaire study on the offerings of courses in Civics, Sociology, Economics, and Problems of Democracy in senior high schools, data on these subjects, constants and electives, and figures on the use of the textbook and additional readings. Since the data cannot be presented in summary form, the writer's conclusions are mentioned: (1) civics is usually a constant, and the other subjects are electives, in the curricula of senior high schools; (2) most pupils enroll in a combination of courses in Civics, Economics, and Sociology, while Problems of Democracy appears in the least number of combinations; (3) the textbook is followed implicitly by most teachers, with little attention to additional materials or the omission of materials from the text; (4) additional readings beyond the text are required by only about one-half of the teachers; (5) magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, and mimeographed materials are used by few teachers; (6) "the conclusions listed here seem to indicate that social science teachers are making a poor job of it." Proposed remedies are: (1) more effective training of teachers, and (2) proper supervision by principals and superintendents.

The March issue of *The North Central Association Quarterly* (4012 University High School Building, Ann Arbor, Michigan) contains the "Report of Sub-Committee on the Social Studies in the Junior High School," prepared by R. M. Tryon and others. The plan of the Report, which covers 24 pages of the publication, includes a statement of each objective, followed by a list of books to be used as illustrative materials. The Report, according to the introductory statement, is to be regarded as a beginning in the attempt to secure content materials to meet the objectives of secondary education. The formulation of objectives is that of the Association's Committee on Standards for use in the reorganization of curricula for secondary schools.

The March issue of *Co-operative School Bulletin* (Lock Box 47, Auburn, Ind.) is devoted almost entirely to articles on different phases of history. Articles include: Fremont P. Wirth, "Ultimate Objectives and Goals of Achievement for History in the Schools"; "Are There Pro-British Tendencies in the American School Histories?," excerpts from addresses and publications of Prof. C. H. Van Tyne; Orlando W. Stephenson and La Roy Froh, "Choosing of Supplementary Readings"; a "History Achievement Test," which includes 85 items; an editorial, and two articles on history in the grades by teachers in the Fort Wayne, Indiana, Public Schools.

The Eighth Annual Conference of the Progressive Education Association was held at Hotel Commodore, New York City, March 8th-10th. The morning session on March 9th was devoted to a description of concrete methods and work done in Geography. Prof. Frederick G. Bonser, Chairman, said that teachers in public schools could do the same work as is done in progressive schools, provided they forget much of their training in normal schools and teachers' colleges. Mrs. Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Bureau of Experiments, New York City, in her talk, "Making Young Geographers Instead of Teaching Geography," urged a closer contact between the work of the geography classes and real life situations through trips and excursions. Short addresses dealing with the experimental work in Geography in progressive schools were presented by Miss Jessie Stanton, City and Country School, New York City; Miss Avah Hughes, Lincoln School, New York City; Miss Hannah Falk, Walden School, New York City; Miss Ellen W. Steele, Rosemary Junior School, Greenwich, Conn.

Dr. H. O. Rugg, The Lincoln School, New York City, was Chairman of the Social Studies Group Conference,

held at the Ethical Culture School, Saturday morning, March 10th. Miss Morse, of the Junior School, Downers Grove, Ill., described work done by third- and fourth-grade pupils in the study of the local community. Miss Perry, of the Rosemary Junior School, Greenwich, Conn., described the study of primitive life by first- and second-grade pupils, which is closely correlated with industrial arts activities. Both teachers showed exhibits of maps, models, art work, and other materials made by pupils. Miss Taylor, of the Shady Hill School, Cambridge, Mass., described the organization of courses which present horizontal or cross-sectional studies of different periods of civilization. Her discussion included concrete materials from the Crusades, prepared by the History Reference Council, 14 Kirkland Place, Cambridge, Mass. Miss Hannah Schapiro, of the Girls' Commercial High School, Brooklyn, described the activities in the economics courses which are closely related to the industrial life in a large city. Pupils are sectioned on the basis of ability and achievement, with adequate opportunities for follow-up work due to a flexible class organization. The school has a museum, a motion-picture machine, a projector, and a reflectoscope. One teacher is a licensed operator. Each pupil makes a community survey of one city block as a part of the activities of one course. Miss Ruth Gillette Hardy is Chairman of the department. Miss Evelyn Reed, of the Tower Hill School, Wilmington, Delaware, explained the organization and procedures in the junior high school courses in the social studies. Miss Clendenin, of the Beaver Country Day School, Brookline, Mass., described the activities of a group of sixth-grade pupils in the making of a social studies book.

Dr. Rugg, in a summary of the conference, suggested the displacement of much of the material of the formal subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic by creative and challenging courses in the social studies, the creative arts, and in the skills. He pointed out the fact that the work of the schools described was not confined to particular courses in the social studies, but included all of the social studies with close correlation with other activities. The challenge to teachers of the social studies in progressive schools is to develop techniques and procedures which will result in the drawing of ideas out of the activities which are the basis of the work. The attention span of pupils is too short; there must be developed more continuous and prolonged study and deeper thought, rather than surface thinking on the part of pupils.

Every issue of *Foreign Affairs* contains an annotated list of "Some Recent Books on International Relations," by William L. Langer, and a list of "Source Material," by Denys P. Myers. *Foreign Affairs* is a quarterly magazine by Council on Foreign Relations, 25 West Forty-third Street, New York City. Each issue contains indispensable material for teachers of European and American history, written by authorities and persons in strategic positions. Subscription, \$5.00 a year.

World News (40 South Third Street, Columbus, Ohio) is a weekly publication intended for use at the senior high school level. Probably the most important feature of the magazine from the standpoint of the teacher of the social studies is the list of references to periodical literature for several topics in each issue. While such references are useless unless the periodicals are available, all effective social studies departments have suitable files of periodicals in the school library or in the departmental library. The lists published in the *World News* can be clipped and pasted on bibliography cards for future use, posted on the bulletin board, or filed in the library for the use of all pupils.

Laurance F. Shaffer, in the January issue of *The Journal of Educational Psychology*, reports data on tests under the title, "The Measurement of Children's Concepts." The purpose of the test was to devise a type of group test for use in ascertaining children's concepts in the social studies, and to ascertain the effectiveness of a group test when

compared with results obtained through the use of a personal interview test. Copies of directions to pupils and a description of procedure are given. The reliability of scoring, as indicated by a comparison of two scores, was $.90 + .01$. The correlation of 108 cases of the group test followed by the individual test was $.50 + .05$. Correlations of the group test with a 10-item multiple-choice test and a 32-item true-false test were $.56 + .04$, respectively, while the correlation between the multiple-choice and true-false tests was $.80 + .02$.

Miss Alice N. Gibbons, head of Department of Social Science, East High School, Rochester, New York, and Chairman of the Social Science Survey Committee for the senior high schools in Rochester, has been doing some pioneer work in the construction of tests. Printed tests used in the survey and in East High School include: "Factual Background Test for Introduction to Modern European History"; "Factual Background Test in American History to 1789"; "Factual Background Test in Ancient and Medieval History"; "Social Science Reading Comprehension Test"; "Working Skill Test in Social Science Materials, Part A and Part B"; "Background Test in Civics"; and "Civics—Final Test." In addition to the foregoing, Miss Gibbons and her staff of fourteen teachers have prepared a series of semester tests for use in the department.

The "Working Skill Test in Social Science Materials" is a unique type of test which involves the use of a new book, a general reference book, newspaper reading, interpretation of a graph, interpretation of a picture graph, interpretation of a statistical table, summarizing, and outlining. In so far as the writer is familiar with published tests, no similar test has been constructed. The "Social Science Reading Comprehension Test," in part, also represents a new departure in a type of test item which, for want of a better term, may be called a "paragraph-matching test." The other parts of the test include two long paragraphs, one of which is followed by a list of detailed questions, to be answered from direct statement or inference, and the other is followed by 17 completion statements, each of which contains five possible responses.

The *Columbia Research Bureau American History Test*, prepared by Harry J. Carman, Columbia University; Thomas N. Barrows, The Lincoln School, and Ben D. Wood, Director Bureau of Collegiate Educational Research, Columbia University, has been published by World Book Co., Yonkers, New York. There are two forms of the test, keys for both forms, score sheets, and a detailed manual of directions. Each part of the test consists of four parts: "Part I, 80 true-false statements; Part II, 50 matching items; Part III, 50 five-response multiple-choice questions; and Part IV, 20 completion sentences. About one-half of the test items, according to the authors, deals with political materials, with the varying proportions of the other items divided between economic, social, educational, and religious materials. About one-half of the test items are devoted to post-Civil War times. The manual contains a distribution of scores, with percentile ranks, of 805 students, 643 high school seniors at the end of the course and 162 college freshmen who had studied American history and took the test when they entered college. Correlations for 622 high school seniors with final grades was .822.

A new type of self-tests for college students of the social studies, known as the "A-D-U Tests," have been prepared by Prof. A. Monroe Stowe, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. The procedure includes an assignment and a number of theses or propositions which students are asked to mark before they study the assignment. They are then asked to record the author's responses to the theses, to note differences between their responses and those of the author, and changes in their responses as results of class discussion. In the September number of the *Bulletin of Randolph-Macon Woman's College*, Prof. Stowe describes his tests and cites advantages stated by students. Copies of the tests may be obtained

from the American Collegiate Service Bureau, Lynchburg, Va., or from the author.

The Sloyer Test in World History, by Monroe W. Sloyer, Director of Social Sciences in the Lancaster, Pa., High Schools (Boston: The Palmer Co., 1928), includes two types of test items: a matching test and 90 completion items. The matching test covers subject-matter prior to Grecian history, and the completion test covers the whole range of world history. A key is provided.

The Denny-Nelson American History Test, by E. C. Denny and M. J. Nelson, Iowa State Teachers' College, Cedar Falls, Iowa (Yonkers, New York: World Book Co., 1928), is intended for use in the seventh and eighth grades. There are two forms of the test, keys, record sheets, and a detailed manual. Part I of each form of the test consists of five types of test items, and Part II includes seven types. The items included have been checked against test-books and results of objective investigations. Correlations of the test with teachers' grades, and of one form with another, range from $.68 + .03$ to $.83 + .02$, with the number of returns ranging from 156 to 165 for the different correlations.

The American Library Association, 86 East Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill., has published a series of 42 pamphlets, dealing with a variety of subjects. Each is written by an authority in the field, and includes an introduction to the subject, followed by a discussion of a half-dozen outstanding books which afford opportunities for further reading. At least 14 of the titles are of interest to teachers of the social studies. Prices: paper-bound copies, 35 cents; cloth-bound copies, 50 cents.

The Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences, to be held in Oslo, Norway, August 14th-18th, has issued circulars and tentative programs. These constitute a formal invitation to organizations, universities, and other institutions. Further information may be obtained from Waldo G. Leland, Chairman of the Committee of the American Historical Association on the Sixth International Congress, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. Acceptances and credentials of delegates should be sent, before May 15th, to the Organization Committee, Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences, Drammensveien 78, Oslo, Norway.

The Spring Meeting of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland will be held at Trenton and Princeton, New Jersey, during the third week-end in May.

The copy printed in this issue completes the second year of the activities of the committee in the collection and preparation of materials for publication. The only way in which the committee can ascertain the degree of service that is furnished the readers of the magazine is through criticisms of copy and through suggestions for improvement. The work of the committee has increased during the year, due to frequent inquiries and requests from teachers for materials, sources of materials, and data on many subjects. The committee cheerfully accepts these added responsibilities, although some requests cannot be filled, due to the lack of available information.

The last issue for the school year affords an opportunity for the Chairman to mention the personnel of the committee, and to thank them publicly for their assistance and co-operation. The members of the committee are:

Barnard, J. Lynn, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa.

Knowlton, Daniel C., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Martz, Charles E., Cleveland School of Education, Cleveland, Ohio.

Stone, Edna H., University High School, Oakland, Calif.

Wilson, Howard E., Laboratory Schools, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Kimmel, W. G., State Department of Education, Albany, N. Y.

Book Reviews

EDITED BY PROFESSOR HARRY J. CARMAN, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Burnt Offerings to Clio

The Study of History. By H. W. C. Davis. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1923. 20 pp. 70 cents.

History and Historical Problems. By Ernest Scott. Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1923. 219 pp.

The Teaching of History. By Paul Klapper. D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1926. xx, 347 pp.

The Writing of History. By J. J. Jusserand. W. C. Abbott, C. W. Colby, and J. S. Bassett. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1926. xii, 143 pp.

The Writing of History. By Sir John Fortescue. Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1926. 74 pp. \$1.00.

The Art of History. By J. B. Black. F. S. Crofts and Company, New York, 1926. viii, 188 pp. \$2.50.

Historians might go further and fare not much worse if they could content themselves with claiming merely that history is a method. As a matter of fact, in days like our own, when the genetic or historical method is a commonplace in many other fields of interest and study, there seems to be more than a hint that, when these studies or specializations in the various fields of investigation have sufficiently multiplied and have taken over the common method, the historian *per se* may acquire a rarity approaching that of the dodo. Some far-sighted historians of our own generation have seen the handwriting on the wall and have hastened to stake out claims as synthesizers. History, say they, will henceforth be the pulling together and interpretative arrangement of all human interest and activity in any given environment or period of the past. That seems a profitable and a justifiable claim until one considers the immense amount of material any given historian must synthesize unless he confines himself to a year or two. An example in point is the series of compromises which have been forced upon the French historian Halévy in his attempt to write a large syncretical history of Great Britain in the nineteenth century. Yet one can look back over historiography and detect a few geniuses who have greatly excelled their fellows in their ability to master and digest all the available historical evidence for some period and interpret it with art, authority, and even an approach to finality. The difficulty with our present and prospect seems to be that historical evidence is increasing faster than anyone can digest it. Apparently we are truly condemned to the classic dilemma of historians, that of knowing either less and less of more and more, or more and more of less and less.

The half-dozen books listed above are only a few of many treatments and diagnoses of the ills of history, historiography, history teaching, history teachers, and historians which have appeared in the last two years. Every month the periodicals produce several essays on the subject. There is a general nervousness and it seems to resolve itself into the questions: (1) Why do historians not interpret the present so well that we can avoid mistakes in the future? (2) Why must attractive historiography be so generalized as to be inaccurate? (3) Why must accurate historiography be dull? (4) Why is there so low a percentage of helpful and illuminating historians and history teachers among the thousands alive and active today? (5) Why do not historians and history teachers evolve from their vast knowledge a philosophy to satisfy their readers and pupils? (6) Can the study of history make good national citizens or good internationalists, or will the truth (which history presumes to approach) be depressing and productive of pessimistic resignation to a continuation of human frailty unchanged? One could become more excited about such questions if men had not been asking them for twenty-five hundred years. One could be more excited about the answers given to them in the books above if they, too, were not fundamentally the answers of the Greeks.

Professor Davis's inaugural is a dignified and scholarly appraisal of history at Oxford and a very well-timed encouragement to the study and writing of history there in order to produce at least provisional estimates of more recent times than Oxford has hitherto been in the habit of investigating. His reasons for refusing to consider history as a science in the strictest sense are well expressed, if not novel, and they carry him naturally into the humanistic group who find historical unity in the uniformity of human nature. Here, however, he utters a note of caution against exclusive preoccupation with the life of the common man. History to Professor Davis might be described as a method of making the present credible in the light of man's past behavior.

Professor Scott of Melbourne writes with charm and reasonableness for Australian teachers. His book is not markedly original. Perhaps it could not be after reading, as he seems to have done, all the outstanding literature of historiography. In effect, he summarizes and appraises, usually most ably and with admirable humor and illustrative material, the best of the European tradition. He is tentative and divides his subject by relating it to other special fields of study. American readers would be likely to criticize in it the idea of making other studies contribute to history rather than *vice versa*. History is not a method to Professor Scott, it is a humanistic study which should demand contributions to its interest and profit from every useful outside study. Good faith is its jewel.

Dean Klapper's book is method from cover to cover. Designed for teachers in American elementary and junior high schools, it "seeks to evolve a system of teaching the social environment that will contribute significantly towards the development of civic-mindedness in young people." The author knows his audience, having taught them and written books for them on the teaching of English, reading, and arithmetic. He may not flatter their intelligences, but he provides them with a comprehensive and elaborated apparatus for Americanization of their pupils through history teaching. Intending purchasers will find the Dean's claims for his book in the preface. He gives them a packed volume, but in spite of his concentration on detail he cannot avoid the larger issues, and here his book is not as profitable as elsewhere. His method is to list arguments pro and con and then choose in the light of the object of his method as given above. This carries him to some highly dubious conclusions about historical truth. "Contentious subjects and controversial discussions have no place in a school textbook" and "Nor does truth demand that mistakes or the occasional weaknesses of respected leaders be elaborated," with its corollary that there is nothing to be gained by introducing such embarrassing material if one's pupils do not, are examples of how History as a method of Americanization ceases to be the dispassionate and immaculate Muse her disinterested admirers would have her be.

In 1920 the American Historical Association "viewed with alarm" the state of recent American historiography and appointed a committee to investigate and report. These gentlemen are agreed that history ought to be truth, example, and entertainment; that is, honest interpretation of corroborated data presented with literary charm. M. Jusserand says this brilliantly, the others less felicitously, because they concern themselves with specific evils and possible remedies. The picture they draw is gloomy, but rings true. In general, the perils to Clio in the United States are Illiteracy and Haste. The former seems to the reviewer to be the result chiefly of the prevailing lack of interest in language and vocabulary as compared with France and Italy, where language is a worship; with Great Britain, where the study of the humanities still gives English grace, or even with Germany, where historians and biographers are slowly hammering out a tempered weapon from recalcitrant material. Our proneness to invent ugly

new words, because we do not know our dictionaries well enough to make use of the old ones, is an example of our weakness. The peril of Haste seems to be intimately related to the High Cost of Living for history teachers. The young man who wants to do original work can seldom afford the money and time for prolonged search for and corroboration of data. Yet he hears two voices: "Increase your income by doing this or that" and "Produce history if you want promotion or increase of salary." It is suggested that the committee might have earned thunderous applause had they recommended that until full professional rank is attained, teacher-historians must confine themselves to articles for the learned periodicals. If these were well subsidized (and edited) and the present schemes of financial aid to research greatly extended, there would not be so much to bemoan in the present state of American historiography.

Sir John Foresee writes on holiday from the fat tomes in which he has recorded the history of the British Army, and his little book in a whimsical and modest way pokes fun at the demand that a historian should be omniscient. He starts with the parish and implicates the universe. His small "morality" is an excellent lesson on humility and humanity for historians, and his readers will end up by sharing his pleasure that, things historical being as he describes them, written history is as good as it is.

Professor Black (of Sheffield) writes to demonstrate that "the intimate union between literature, philosophy, and history" as effected in the eighteenth century is an ideal "which bears a validity for all time." He feels that history written by such humanists as Voltaire, Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon "became a complete and satisfying culture in itself." His most interesting view is that historiography which is concerned with the establishment of factual relationships will, if scientifically handled, draw in horizons rather than extend them. His chief weakness is that he has made a man of straw called Modern Academic Historian and knocks him over rather too often. While Gooch and Trevelyan are writing and others crowding to supplant them, England cannot complain of undue dearth of historians of popularity, accuracy, and insight. Professor Black's greatest service is his illuminating reminder of the merits of his eighteenth-century heroes. One comes readily to admit Voltaire's claim to be parent of a "school" of historians and pioneer in social history. One sees why Hume interpreted the history of civilization in terms of the Age of Reason and in "an instructive and amusing" manner, and pursued a will o' the wisp in seeking "the constant and universal principles of human nature by showing man in all variety of circumstances and situations." One catches the infinite Scottish industry of Robertson in his researches, his services to accuracy, his pioneer work in the colonial history of the Americas, the merits of his "plain homespun" style, and his ability in synthesis. One rediscovers that the thunder and majesty of "Le Gibbon's" literary style are ornament for what his greatest modern critic calls his "amazing" accuracy, and for an organized sequence of cause and effect, and are not a concealment of weakness. Professor Black writes a strong plea for historical art and his recipe is that the best and most unified result follows the use of history as a vehicle for one's philosophy.

BARTLET BRENNER.

Columbia University.

South America Looks at the United States. By Clarence H. Haring. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1928. vi, 243 pp.

Latin-America in World Politics. By J. Fred Rippy. Alfred Knopf, New York, 1928. viii, 286 pp. Maps.

Seeing ourselves as others see us is both refreshing and distressing. The first of the volumes under review has a third attribute, that of being surprisingly illuminating to many readers. It is the type of volume that should appear more frequently, yet the writers of such works tread upon the treacherous ground of natural and national prejudices.

This is a popularly written study in attitudes, both national and international, of views of thinking individuals,

and opinions of the masses, in the Hispanic-American states. The author has long been familiar with the history and politics of these countries, and after a year's residence and travel in South America (1925-1926), under the auspices of the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College, he decided to set down in an extended form the results of his observations.

After a rapid survey of the manifold relations of the United States with Hispanic-America (part I), the author discusses "Sources of Distrust" on the part of our southern neighbors (part II). Here are displayed views regarding race difference, economic penetration, the Monroe Doctrine and Pan-Americanism, propaganda and Hispanic-American *rapprochement*, Pan-Hispanism and Pan-Latinism. Part III treats in some detail the feelings of the individual South American republics toward the United States.

The reviewer wishes that space would permit wide quotation from this most interesting volume. But perhaps one paragraph may be cited by way of summary and conclusion. It is found on pages 60 and 61:

"Distrust of the United States among the peoples of Latin-America in the past has been for the most part a political distrust, engendered by episodes in the diplomatic history of the western hemisphere, increased by the extraordinary growth of the United States in population, wealth, and political prestige, fostered by European rivals; and its strength has been in inverse ratio to the distance from the shores of the United States. It is most powerful in Mexico, in the small and backward states of the West Indies and Central America, and in the neighboring, continental republic of Colombia. In the more distant or more progressive states farther south, beyond the circle of the Caribbean, this sentiment becomes not so much a fear of political absorption as a dread of the overwhelming economic power commanded by the United States, especially since the World War....With it also is mingled a personal dislike of Americans, men and women, who in increasing numbers have been coming to reside in Latin-America as the representatives of the United States industrial and financial enterprises."

This book teaches a moral. May those who need it read it!

Progress in the teaching and studying of Hispanic-American history in the United States has reached a sufficient degree to make it both profitable and advisable for college students to use works of historical correlation. The second volume under review is of this type and it should have a welcome reception from students of American relations and world politics.

The author makes no claim to having exhausted the subject of the world relations of Hispanic-America. Indeed, no exhaustive historical treatment has been made or is likely to be made for some time, because many highly specialized studies and thought-provoking monographs—such, for example, as Alvarez, "Latin-America and International Law" in the *American Journal of International Law*, April, 1909—must precede the final effort. Nevertheless, Dr. Rippy has given a well-balanced picture in the proper historical perspective, and that after all is no mean achievement.

The emphasis in the volume is upon the modern period of Hispanic-American history. Of the sixteen chapters in the book the first six rapidly survey the period before 1857, emphasizing and admirably summarizing the rivalry of Great Britain and the United States in Hispanic-America. The remaining chapters contain selective and summary sketches of German, French, Spanish, Italian, and Japanese relations, together with brief treatments of such topics as The Spanish-American War, The Venezuelan Imbroglio, The Participation of Hispanic-America in European Affairs, Yankee Hegemony in Hispanic-America, and Problems in Inter-American Relations. In a sense, nearly every chapter constitutes a separate study, but the connection is evident and the whole is unified.

The volume stresses vividly the position which the United States has played in the world relations of Hispanic-America. These nations have been looked upon since the securing of their independence from Spain and Portugal

as regions for economic exploitation hindered only by the Monroe Doctrine and the attitude of the United States. The *Colossus of the North* has been accused of a "dog in the manger" policy and of "feathering its own nest" through *Dollar Diplomacy*. Dr. Rippey has pictured admirably the unfavorable attitude of both Europe and Hispanic-America toward our protectoristic and paternalistic course. However, "in recent years the European Powers have gradually come to recognize our paramount interest and have showed little disposition to run counter to our will in Latin-America." By 1925 the United States was politically and economically predominate in Hispanic-America (p. 243). But all is not well and the author in his final chapter sounds a warning for the United States and suggests a remedy.

No attempt has been made to discover errors, though two may be noted. On page 70 it is made to appear that Luis de Onís had been the Spanish representative in the United States since 1808, while in reality he was not received until 1815; and on page 174 the word "Carolines" should be substituted for "Carolinas." The volume contains no bibliography and most of the many references cited may be classed as secondary. The index, though not complete, is useful.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

University of South Carolina.

A History of Great Britain. By Howard Robinson. Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1927. viii, 952 pp.

Five years after the appearance of his very timely, scholarly, and useful *Development of the British Empire*, Professor Robinson has produced another important volume dealing with our neighbors across the sea. Covering a much wider field than the former book, the recent *History of Great Britain* is equally accurate, opportune, and well written.

Embracing within its 950 pages the whole story of English progress and adventure through twenty centuries of development, the work is admirably arranged and excellently organized, the treatment being, in general, chronological. With no superfluous reference to insignificant matters of detail, the author has nevertheless succeeded in including in his account nearly everything of moment, and everything that is vital to an understanding of contemporary English civilization and of Britannia's present position in the family of nations.

Particularly commendable is the attention given to social, economic, and industrial growth during the successive ages and eras. It is refreshing to find a textbook which devotes whole chapters to such topics as "Fourteenth-Century Nationalism," "Social Evolution," and "The Social Scene in Eighteenth-Century Britain." The maps, too, indicate the author's sympathy with the "new" approach to history. Thus, for example, there is a map on "The Plan of a Medieval Manor"; another on "The Lower Thames"; and a third on "Communications in the Reform Era."

Each of the forty-four chapters is followed by an extended bibliographical note containing, in general, though not always, the most authoritative and latest works on the phase of development under discussion. An appendix contains a convenient reference list of "Ministries Since 1760."

With this array of features in its favor, there remain one or two aspects in which the *History of Great Britain* is disappointing. The narrative of post-World War Britain is much too brief and too superficial for a book issued in 1927. Moreover, the organization in this part of the work is also somewhat weaker. Perhaps Dr. Robinson felt that more time must elapse before the proper perspective for a truly historical analysis of the past decade can be undertaken. Perhaps he was a little too anxious to bring his long labor to a close. But what enterprise of so broad a scope could be without a flaw? And it may be that the unattainability of perfection or finality in the textbook field is fortunate. Else what justification would there be for new and additional texts?

WALTER C. LANGSAM.

Columbia University.

The Capture of Old Vincennes. The Original Narratives of George Rogers Clark and of His Opponent, Gov. Henry Hamilton. Edited, with Introduction and Notes by Milo M. Quaife. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1927. 231 pp. \$2.75.

Next year in Vincennes, Indiana, the Sesqui-Centennial Anniversary of George Rogers Clark's conquest of the Old Northwest will be observed. For this reason there has been a considerable revival of interest in Clark and his exploits. Recently Temple Bodley finished an extensive life of Clark, and now Dr. Milo M. Quaife brings out Clark's *Memoir*, written at the request of James Madison and completed in 1791.

For the details of Clark's march against the British in the regions north of the Ohio River, historians have depended largely upon two narratives, both written by Clark. The first was written in 1779 in the form of a letter to George Mason, which long remained lost, and the *Memoir* just mentioned was set down to preserve the account. The general trustworthiness of Clark is attested by the standards of historical criticism, one of which in this instance is the close agreement of his two narratives written more than ten years apart, and, of course, without reference of one to the other.

Clark in his *Memoir* tells of how he came to conceive of the plan of driving the British out of Vincennes and the other Northwest posts, how he convinced Governor Henry, of Virginia, of the feasibility of the plan, and he records in a stirring and minute fashion his remarkable success—the seizure of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes, the capture of Gov. Henry Hamilton, and the pacification of the Indians. His greatest ambition, which never being attained became his greatest disappointment, was to capture Detroit, the center of British power in the Old Northwest.

Dr. Quaife has shown considerable bravery as well as good common sense in defying certain historical canons, which to some have become as fixed as the well-known laws of the Medes and Persians, by frequently changing the text left by Clark—but always in the interest of clarifying Clark's meaning. He has modernized the spelling and typography, and now and then has added words and phrases and recast sentences; also, he has divided the text into paragraphs and chapters with appropriate headings. This sort of editing assures the narrative a much wider circulation, and does violence to no historical principle when the fact is announced. The original text will still be needed by historians and scholars for certain purposes.

Dr. Quaife also includes Governor Hamilton's report of the venture, and presents it without change in the original text. Here Hamilton gives in some detail his suffering as a prisoner of war in Virginia. Both documents have been commendably and accurately edited in footnote explanations and citations. There are also a short historical introduction, four illustrations and maps, and an index.

E. M. COULTER.

University of Georgia.

Federal Aid: A Study in the American Subsidy System.

By Austin F. Macdonald. The Crowell Publishing Company, New York, 1928. xii, 285 pp.

There has been so much loose and extravagant talk about federal encroachment upon the states through the means of subsidies by people quite ignorant of their operation and even of their actual extent that Professor Macdonald's sane and scholarly volume fills an important void in our literature of current discussion. In the decade since the war federal subsidies have swelled from \$22,000,000.00 to \$136,000,000.00 annually. There are seven principal lines of federal support: highways, agricultural extension work, forestry, maternity and child welfare, vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, and the National Guard.

The present volume is the fruit of an extensive survey by the author under a research fellowship of the Social Science Research Council. It is based upon a careful examination of the rather bulky literature of the subject, checked by upwards of a thousand interviews. The author concludes with generous praise of the system and hopes

for its extension. He finds that the standards have generally improved and never suffered under federal leadership, and that the system has been tainted neither with politics nor bureaucracy. His exposition is simple, non-technical, and thoroughly readable. A chapter is devoted to each of the major activities and one each to the evolution and the future of the system. Aside from a suggestion that many state electorates have made the somewhat conflicting demand for better and more extensive service and less taxes, and that it has been championed by the relatively impecunious sisters, the author does not give us a very clear conception of the circumstances which fostered the development of a system with such new and serious implications. Perhaps like Topsy—"it jist grow'd." At any rate, here it is, and this book gives a very clear and vivid picture of its nature and extent. A few charts of the organic relationships might have made the administrative structure clearer. An analysis of recorded votes on federal aid statutes from which the author quotes at some length might well have been included in the appendix. What the author has done is ably and effectively handled. He is doubtless amply warranted in his claim for the importance, permanence, and promise of this device.

JOSEPH D. MCGOLDRICK.

Columbia University.

America Comes of Age. By Andre Siegfried. Harcourt, Brace & Company, New York, 1927. 358 pp.

This very interesting and thought-provoking volume was written by a talented French economist who is also the author of studies upon Great Britain, New Zealand, and Canada. The present analysis is based upon an extensive acquaintance with the United States gained upon a number of tours undertaken throughout the country. The style is good and the attempt to be just is evident through the entire book. Professor Siegfried has divided his study into three parts: first, The Ethnic Situation, in which national origins, divergence in race, religious background, and the

American attitude upon problems like prohibition, eugenics, color, and nativism are discussed; second, The Economic Situation—an excellent analysis of the principal commercial, financial, and labor questions met with in contemporary America; lastly, The Political Situation, in which he endeavors to show in what manner racial origins, national ideals, and industrial organization have formed our national politics. A few pages of conclusions are added to the foregoing, which are evident enough from his previous remarks.

The order of treatment seems accurate, for it would seem that Americans are as they are primarily because of their origin, together with the philosophies which they have carried to America with them, and secondarily because of the manner of their reaction to conditions here, as reflected in their creation of the immense economic system which Professor Siegfried praises so highly and in their political doctrines which he rightly believes are quite secondary to the vast network of agitators who constantly bring pressure to bear upon the great parties and upon the government. Specifically, the author believes something as follows: that in spite of the admixture of alien races, this country has been, and will continue to be, dominantly Protestant, Calvinist, and Anglo-Saxon. Further he believes that in the efforts made throughout our history to maintain the above, we have become extremely intolerant to the alien and the Catholic. Economically we have built up the nation on a basis of "service" which is frequently a rational disguise for tidy profit, for we have converged all the old Puritan ideals and the more recent Anglo-Saxon exclusiveness into a mechanism for efficiency, for greater production, and for impressing our collective personality upon all persons. In other words, our civilization is a mechanical one, the greatest in history, and as mechanical has come to a stage in which individual skill with its emphasis upon artistic distinction is suppressed to the exaltation of mass production, which we call "service." The latter he believes the chief distinction between American and Old World civilization.

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PHILADELPHIA

It is more than difficult for any man, even the distinguished Professor Siegfried, to describe America so broadly in the day of her maturity. Yet one cannot help admiring the ability and intelligence back of this effort. His section upon the "Economic Situation" is his best, and in it he uses with great skill figures and statistics compiled from Department of Commerce and United States Labor Bureau publications as well as findings of industrial boards and the writings of well-known American financiers and economists. His most interesting line of reasoning concerns the labor problem. In view of the new immigration policy of the nation, America will soon be deprived of its most necessary labor supply, since it is quite clear that the native born and assimilated stocks are devoting themselves to the professions and to the skilled trades, leaving to the latest arrivals the most arduous and most poorly-paid jobs. What America will do when there are none to do these unwanted jobs is a matter for anxiety. If the refuge is to be in more machines, then there will be additional deadening and loss of individuality among the workers.

In his section upon our ethnic composition, Professor Siegfried is not so happy. There is possible irrelevance in treating all sorts of social problems like prohibition under this head, though few would deny the importance of the nationality-religion-social belief cause and effect connection. The reviewer hesitates to believe that the average American of Anglo-Saxon stock is so bigoted and intolerant as the author supposes; also it seems rather too much to predict almost total exclusiveness as an American characteristic in view of the fact that the immigration policy is so recent and its effects and permanence incompletely known. Also the other policies of our nation which seem to show intolerance may seem so because of unintelligent handling of vexing problems, cut across as they are by apparently opposing forces. A large proportion of the unattractive features of American life may be charged to artificial conditions imposed by the war—matters which we hope are temporary. Professor Siegfried understands this, but he does not seem to appreciate its full significance.

One bad slip is noticeable and may be mentioned without comment. In speaking of the factors which make for political success, he says (page 271): "In 1876 Tilden, a Democrat, was elected President." All in all, the last section (*The Political Situation*) is interesting, but contains very little that is new. He analyzes the various political parties and our relations with the rest of the world intelligently, noting that our principal political friend is the Anglo-Saxon portion of the British Empire, and that in domestic politics the real parallel with France is between propagandist societies like the Anti-Saloon League and French political groups.

In general, M. Siegfried seems to have written a very interesting and significant book, which seems decidedly worth while for teachers and lay readers to look into. His economics are sound, his deductions as to American problems at least thought-provoking. And whether we may always agree, it is wholesome to look at ourselves again through the eyes of an observer from France.

COURTNEY R. HALL.

Adelphi College.

Introduction to American Economic History. By Walter W. Jennings, Ph.D. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1928. 546 pp.

During 1926 Professor Jennings published in 803 large, closely-printed pages a *History of Economic Progress in the United States* which elicited respect for the wealth of material contained within one binding. A defect of the volume to some critics was the paucity of generalization which might leave the reader nonplussed by the myriad, unaccentuated particulars, and vainly clenching the factual sands as they sifted through the palm of memory. The author gave slight assistance to the interpretation of facts, and seemingly an effort toward unity and continuity was confined to a structuralized presentation of materials. The survey was divided into five periods, each of which was in turn broken up into broad, inclusive topical segments. The synthesis of the various aspects was limited to a restriction within concise eras of the comprehensive topics. After the

subject had been subjected to isolated treatment in one periodic division, the loose ends were left and caught up again somewhere in the next division. The method tended to make the mass of material unwieldy and unassimilable.

The new work of the author is briefer, intended to be more elementary, and seeks coherence through uninterrupted topical treatment. After two introductory chapters, which synoptically relate the settlement of the colonies and the sporadic acquirement of the present national domain, the main economic phases and some of the basic industries are separately traced from the colonial period to the present. The strands are not woven into a pattern. The result is a collection of essays rather than a description of a growing, changing organism with many parts evolving concomitantly within it. The seventeen chapters deal with the subjects of agriculture, immigration, labor, tariff, fishing and trapping, lumbering, manufacturing, commerce, money and banking, and other important categories of American economic history. The chapters range in length from fifteen to fifty-one pages. With the exception of the two overcrowded introductory chapters, all of the topics are handled capably, and many of them excellently. In places the compression of innumerable facts produces an encyclopedic effect, which is elsewhere softened by a slackening of the swift, unceasing factual flow. If one seeks a brief authoritative study of the large streams of American economy, it is to be found in Professor Jennings's new book; or if one is not bothered by the absence of a unified, moving picture the book is a concise and yet adequate treatise of considerable merit. One hundred graphs, mainly curves and bar charts, illustrate many interesting tendencies and processes in the present and past of the country's history. A critical analysis reveals numerous imperfections in the graphs, especially charts 90, 91, and 92, which are misleading.

For the purpose of clarity, history may be dissociated into convenient phases. Since in life these phases are associated, a true reflection requires a blending of the dissociated parts. The necessity creates a baffling problem for the historian. The fusion usually brings confusion. Professor Jennings eschews the difficult portrayal of a composite economic picture in order to obtain the clear outlines of a topical representation. In both of his books he resolves into its component elements the complex substance of the economic life of the United States and leaves the synthesizing process to the reader. The book should be most useful to the lay reader and furnishes an interesting solution to the perplexing problem of a satisfactory textbook.

SAMUEL MCKEE, JR.

Columbia University.

Constitutional Problems under Lincoln. By James G. Randall. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1926. xviii, 580 pp.

The "constitutional fathers," while able in most respects, were somewhat lacking in gifts of prophecy. Consequently they made no definite provision for a civil war. This failure to provide produced a number of difficulties while Lincoln's administration was carrying on the government during the period of the Civil War. In the first place what was the nature of the war? Secondly, in whose hands were the unusual powers that must be exercised in war time? Thirdly, what unusual powers might be exercised and to what extent? These problems are the subject of Professor Randall's study.

Was the conflict a rebellion or a war? Were the Confederates rebels or enemies entitled to the protection of the laws of war? This first question caused considerable difficulty and the Supreme Court solved the problem in the Prize Cases by demonstrating that the struggle had a dual character and was both a rebellion and a war. Whether the Confederates were traitors or not was another question. Treason was defined anew by Congress and a few were brought to trial, but the possibility of a jury deciding the wrong way made that procedure untrustworthy so the government, while regarding southern belligerents as traitors, treated them as enemies. What was the extent of the

war power which might be exercised and where was the dividing line between the spheres of action of President and Congress? The constitution is indefinite upon this point, and conflict ensued. The President had a very broad view of his powers, which he proceeded to follow, and Congress often bitterly resented this policy, but he successfully maintained it in spite of them; also there was the question as to the powers of the federal government and the states. In this connection Professor Randall finds that the chief development was not so much the loss to the states of powers which belonged to them, but more the assumption by the federal government of its own powers, which it had hitherto left to the state.

Most of the book, however, is concerned with an analysis of the specific war powers and judgment as to their constitutionality to determine how far the United States departed from a "rule of law." Most important was the question of the rights of the individual. Early in the war the President suspended the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus in certain localities, and later throughout the north; an action which Congress ambiguously approved in 1863. Individuals frequently were arrested and arbitrarily held in prison without recourse to the courts upon the order of the executive. Martial law was proclaimed and court martials held even in non-combatant zones. By the Indemnity Act of 1863 all officers were freed from liability for wrongs committed while acting in their official capacity. Conscription was resorted to and maintained. The press was interfered with, though very infrequently, as there was no real censorship, and telegraphs and railroads were controlled by the government. West Virginia by a legal fiction was admitted as a state. So much for war powers in the north; even more complex problems arose in connection with conditions in the south.

How should the sections of the south conquered by northern armies be governed? The first stage was military control, and then Lincoln devised the plan of restoring civil rule by placing it in the hands of the loyal men in the communities. Should the South be made to pay for the war? What respect should be given the property rights of the Confederates? Congress passed four acts—two confiscation laws, an act for collecting direct taxes in insurrectionary districts, and the Captured Property Act; also the President issued the Emancipation Proclamation. These measures confiscated and destroyed a considerable amount of southern property without much benefit to the United States treasury, and comparatively little reparation was ever made. Finally, should individual leaders be punished? This question arose at the close of the war when Jefferson Davis and numerous prominent Confederates were captured. Many breathed fire and brimstone for a while and talked of treason being made odious, but the same difficulties much magnified in regard to jury trials and a spirit of mercy prevailed, so that scarcely any punishment was exacted.

From his study Professor Randall concludes that the President exercised a control conspicuous for its irregular and extra-legal characteristics, not only in executive, but also in legislative and judicial matters, a control upon which neither Congress nor the courts exercised any real check. In fact, the work of Congress was haphazard and careless and the Supreme Court bowed to the inevitable, not interfering in any effective manner until after the war. While the departures from the strict letter of the Constitution were numerous on the part of the President, they were accompanied by a "democratic regard for human feeling and a wholesome respect for individual liberty." In general, considering what often occurs in war time, there was comparatively slight abuse of the extraordinary powers. Professor Randall concludes: "In a legal study of the war the two most significant facts are perhaps these: the wide extent of the war powers; and, in contrast to that, the manner in which the men in authority were nevertheless controlled by the American people's sense of constitutional government" (p. 522).

This book is in many respects a model of exhaustive research and thorough scholarship. In this flighty day of speed and superficiality, it seems less and less desirable

on the part of students to be thorough. Professor Randall has completed his work and the subject of the Constitution during the Civil War will not have to be reworked unless some unsuspected grave of historical fact gives up its dead. May we not hope for a study by the same author on the "Constitutional Problems of Reconstruction?"

ROY F. NICHOLS.

University of Pennsylvania.

Politics and Religion in Sixteenth-Century France. By F. C. Palm. Ginn, Boston, 1927. ix, 299 pp. \$2.00.

At a time when historians are showing emphatic interest in social history and do so from democratic environment, there is a natural temptation to concentrate attention on the manners of living of the middle class and the masses in past periods. There is considerable justification for that attention in the neglect of them by many earlier historians, but almost every investigator must have experienced the disappointment of discovering that, because the conditions of life changed slowly for those people up to the increased tempo which resulted from the Industrial Revolution, there is not a great deal to say about them. The truth seems to be that until the middle class and the masses became expressive and their existence and condition an insistent and continual political and social problem, history is almost forced to be concerned with the makers of policy and expressive critics of existing régimes. This is particularly true of the early days of the European national states and remains so until the newly self-conscious middle class broke through the bankruptcy of Enlightened Despotism at the end of the eighteenth century.

Professor Palm's book is a good illustration of this state of affairs. His attention was directed to French confusion at the time of the Wars of Religion. He found an interesting central figure in Henry of Damville. His book is really the story of the complex career of that man, who as possessor of the balance of power in the Midi "became practically the uncrowned King of the south," and yet it does also live up to the title he has given it. In other words, it is pretty difficult to write general history of sixteenth-century France without doing so in terms of the activities of men in whose hands lay the fate of the masses as well as that of the nation. One result is that the author is tempted sometimes rather dubiously far in crediting general consequences to the actions of his hero. Even if Damville did what he did, there were other men of equal importance after his death who wielded equal power with equal consequence, sometimes with little relation to what had gone before.

Professor Palm has made this valuable contribution to knowledge with scrupulous scholarship as his *apparatus criticus* reveals. Damville is the Machiavellian Prince in person, endowed with great political shrewdness and embarrassed by few inhibitions. He loved power and attained it, and his achievement incidentally aided France. He was hardly a hero by modern standards (except to his biographer), but he was great in his own environment and did not seriously offend against its sanctions. All students of French history and, in particular, of the Politiques in their relation to French absolutism, must henceforth acknowledge their great debt to Professor Palm. He has written a unified and graphic description of the leading protagonist in a critical period of French history.

Congratulation should be extended to the publishers as well. In recent years they have been building up the basis for an enviable reputation in the manufacture of well-made books at moderate prices. I do not recollect any recent

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book, except a few volumes from university presses, which can compete successfully with this in general set-up and illustrations, and in the really appropriate handling of the difficult problem of footnotes and bibliographical notes. It is welcome to have this first scholarly treatment of a leading figure in such attractive form.

BARTLET BREBNER.

Columbia University.

Historical Foundations of Modern Education. By Edward H. Reisner. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927. xv, 513 pp.

This volume, as the title implies, traces in considerable detail the historical background of modern education. The author who is Professor of Education in Teachers' College, Columbia University, tells us in his prefatory introduction that in selecting his materials he was guided by the desire first to help the students gain a clearer conception of the development of western tradition and practice of education, and, secondly, to enable him to gain a broader comprehension of many of the essential educational problems of the present day. The eighteen chapters which comprise the volume are, therefore, in a very real sense summary interpretations of the various aspects of classical culture. Indeed, the chapter headings admirably describe the volume's contents: "Our Homeric Ancestors and Their Culture"; "The Cultural Developments of Five Hundred Years, 1000-509 B. C."; "The First Stage in the Creation of the Materials of Secondary and Higher Education"; "The Internationalizing of Hellenic Culture and the Institutionalizing of Education"; "The Cultural Contributions of Rome"; "Life and Education in Rome in the First Christian Century"; "Christianity and the Christian Church"; "The Decline of Roman Civilization"; "The Age of Social Confusion and Intellectual Depression"; "Changes in European Society Make Advancing Educational Demands"; "The Universities and Professional Education"; "Medieval Grammar and Elementary Schools"; "Chivalry and the Education of the Warrior Class"; "The Recovery of the Idea of a Liberal Education in Italy of the Fourteenth Century and After"; "The Development of a New Educational Clientele in Northern Europe in the Sixteenth Century"; "Changes in Educational Administration Resulting from the Protestant Reformation"; "The Humanistic Secondary School of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries"; "Progressive Ideas Respecting the Education of a Gentleman."

Throughout the volume Professor Reisner has endeavored to show that education is merely one element in the cross-section of life as a whole, and that the organization of schools and the subject-matter of instruction are intimately interrelated with other aspects of life. Consequently, he has devoted considerable space to these non-educational aspects of life for the purpose of enabling his readers to better understand the nature of the classical heritage.

The half hundred and more illustrations show careful selection and each chapter is provided with a selected bibliography. In this connection the author frankly states that the volume under review should be used as a point of departure for further study, rather than as a manual containing an exhaustive collection of facts.

The book should serve a most useful purpose and every teacher or would-be teacher should read it.

Forerunners of St. Francis and Other Studies. By Ellen Scott Davison, edited by Gertrude R. B. Richards, with a Foreword by James T. Shotwell. Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1927. xvi, 425 pp.

This volume is divided in two parts, the first dealing with the forerunners of St. Francis of Assisi and the latter with some sketches in the social history of the Middle Ages. The monastic reformers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries form the subject of her first chapters. These have been written directly from the sources and breathe the atmosphere of sympathetic yet critical devotion. When you finish reading them you feel that you have been brought face to face with living people. Miss Davison has a touch of life in her narratives that makes them very appealing to the reader of history who has become so accustomed to

dry and matter-of-fact descriptions of the life of other ages.

Even better than her treatment of the monastic reformers are her splendid descriptions of individual heretical leaders like Arnold of Brescia and the founders of the various heretical sects. Probably nowhere in the English language can we find better short treatments of the Humiliati, the Cathari, and the Waldensians than in the pages of this book. Everywhere we see evidences of a wide knowledge of the sources and a candor that fails neither in praising the virtues of the heretics nor in criticizing their errors and weaknesses.

The short studies in the latter part of the volume which deal with various glimpses of medieval life are interesting, but not so important for the general reader as her descriptions of the different heretical groups and reformers, since they can be duplicated more easily in other writers. Here as in the other pages what particularly appeals to the reader is the habit which Miss Davison has of giving an estimate of the relative importance of peoples and events in their age. Thus, we are really guided in our study, rather than merely led.

Professor Shotwell in his Foreword has not overstated the quality, the character, and the spirit of the work of Ellen Scott Davison. Students of medieval history will miss in the future studies from her able pen, but they are thankful for this splendid contribution which Miss Davison has made during that life which was so devoted to the pursuit of the good, the beautiful, and the true.

IRVING W. RAYMOND.

Columbia University.

Hart American Government Maps. By Albert Bushnell Hart, with the collaboration of D. M. Matteson. Denoyer-Geppert Co., Chicago, 1927. 24 colored maps and charts, size 32 x 44 inches. Cloth mounting with iron stand, \$67.75.

These twenty-four maps and charts are a valuable addition to the deservedly popular series of historical wall maps, published by the Denoyer-Geppert Company. While perhaps prepared for classes in civics and government, the new maps will be found equally serviceable in courses in American history.

Nearly all of the sheets contain more than a single map; indeed the twenty-four sheets actually present eighty-eight maps and three charts. Three sheets, portraying the density of population at each census from 1790 to 1920, furnish in compact form the facts of population growth. The status of slavery is shown on two sheets containing maps illustrating conditions at nine different dates from 1776 to 1865. The extension of the suffrage to men and to women is indicated by an ingenious combination of colors and dates upon ten maps (2 sheets).

Other topics treated which are valuable for history and civics classes are: the system of Federal land surveys; legislation respecting intoxicating liquors; the geographical sources and numbers of immigrants into the United States, and the regions from which immigration is now prohibited; the growth of the railroad net of the country; areas and states where exist popular referendum and initiative of legislation and the recall of officials; the character of ballots and elections and the control of primaries. Particularly valuable are the maps showing the electoral vote of the states from 1796 to 1924 and the accompanying graphs giving the totals of popular and electoral votes.

The chart upon the Federal government shows the organization, powers and activities of each of the three departments of government—the legislative, the executive, and the judicial; another on state governments indicates the structure and functions of the state departments and also the division of powers between the states, the country and smaller local units; while still a third chart represents the various types of city government.

Throughout the series careful, efficient co-operation between the editors and the map-makers is evident. The color scheme is simple but gives clear, distinct impressions; the devices for portraying statistics and similar information are varied and ingenious. Altogether the series is one that can be recommended for school use.

Book Notes

The March of Commerce. By Malcolm Keir. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1927. 361 pp.

The Winning of Freedom. By William Wood and Ralph Henry Gabriel. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1927. 366 pp.

These two volumes are Volumes IV and VI, respectively, of the Pageant of America Series. Both maintain the same high standards established in the earlier published volumes. Of the two, that by Professor Kier, largely because of the material with which it deals, will undoubtedly prove most useful to teachers of history. By means of pen and picture he depicts in successive chapters the story of colonial commerce, the old merchant marine, the early roads and waterways, the coming of the steamboat, railroad expansion, the express business, ocean and lake traffic, and such instrumentalities of commerce as the postoffice, telegraph, telephone, radio, the automobile and the aeroplane, and money and banking in so far as they relate to commerce. Professor Gabriel's introductory comment, entitled, "The Evolution of American Commerce," constitutes an admirable summary.

The Winning of Freedom depicts the military and naval history of the United States from colonial times to the close of the Mexican War. The early struggles between the Indians and the white men, the rising power of France in the New World, the bitter colonial wars, the American phase of the clash of England and France for world supremacy, the pre-Revolutionary activities of the colonies, the Wars of Independence, 1812, and the Mexican War are the main topics emphasized. Every lover of American History will want these volumes.

To those attracted by the study of attempts to solve complicated political and social problems, the story of South Africa should have a special interest. *A History of South Africa*, by Professor E. A. Walker, of the University of Capetown (Longmans, Green and Co., 1928, 623 pp., \$5.00), affords a compact yet comprehensive treatment of the subject. The narrative is carried from the days of discovery and first settlement through the period of Dutch rule, the troubles between Boer and Briton, and union government down to the assumption of office by Hertzog's Nationalists in 1924. The romantic story of the earlier days, the more recent conflicts of interest between the two main divisions of the white population, and among capitalists, agrarians, and laborites, and the ever-present race question, negro and oriental, all receive discerning and sympathetic treatment. In view of the fact that the domestic problems of the Union are more complex than those of any other British Dominion, and socially more intense than those of the United States, South African history merits far greater attention than it receives at present in this country.—A. G. D.

Professor E. W. Crecraft has placed us so much in his debt for his pioneer volume on *Government and Business* (World Book Company, New York, 1928, xi, 508 pp.) that it is unfortunate that his execution is not as excellent as his idea. In seeking to be comprehensive he has sacrificed compactness and concreteness. He has sought to show the multifarious points of contact between business and government, the political activities of business, the economic service of government, and the many ways in which business affects government and government affects business. It is a much broader and more ambitious task than Swenson's *National Government and Business*, an able but limited and legal treatment. The present volume attempts for the first time to interpret the interactions of government and business. Its chief lack is concrete illustration. In some places it scarcely attains more depth than a syllabus. It is, however, a distinctly provocative book. In the hands of a competent teacher, capable of injecting some color into it, it could be made the basis of an extremely interesting and valuable course.—J. McG.

Students interested in the age of discovery and European expansion would do well to read Nellis M. Crouse's *In Quest of the Western Ocean* (William Morrow and Company, New York, 1928, ix, 480 pp.). As the title of the volume implies, Dr. Crouse traces in considerable detail the efforts made to find a short route to the Pacific; namely, the northwest passage. The author is principally concerned with the enterprises of the English in searching for a route around the North American continent and with the attempts which the French made to find a way to the Pacific across that continent. The book is prefaced by an introductory chapter summarizing the reasons why Medieval Europe was so anxious to find an all-water route to the Far East. Both primary and secondary sources have been examined and the volume is authoritative and scholarly. It should be added, however, that it presents very little that was not already common knowledge. Its chief value, therefore, lies in the fact that it brings together in one place the outstanding events connected with the quest for the northwest passage. The dozen maps which illustrate the volume are well chosen.

Professor H. S. Quigley's *From Versailles to Locarno* (University of Minnesota Press, 1927, 170 pp.) should prove a very useful handbook on international relations for discussion groups as well as general students. The first part of this little volume comprises succinct accounts by the author of four outstanding features of contemporary world organization—the nature of the Locarno settlement, the League Council and Assembly at work, its Secretariat and Labor Office, and the World's Court. The second part consists of a serviceable bibliography of international relations, including a guide to the principal periodical sources, and also the text of the most important documents of recent years, among them the Hague Convention, the League Covenant, World Court Protocol and Statute and American reservations thereto, the Geneva Protocol, the Locarno Pact, and the Labor sections of the Versailles Treaty. It might perhaps have been well to include also among the

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footnotes to these documents the reservations embodied in the Canadian resolution interpreting Article X of the Covenant, and the draft collective note of October 16, 1925, to Germany interpreting commitments under Article XVI, as these have an important bearing upon the spirit in which League obligations are to be imposed.—A. G. D.

Putnam has just published the first American edition of Hilaire Belloc's sparkling biography of *Danton* (New York, 1928, xxiv, 448 pp., \$5.00), with a new preface by the author. The publisher has made of it a dignified, stout volume of good typography and with seventeen well reproduced illustrations. Most students are already familiar with the work through its English editions (Nice, 1899), which have competed for favor with M. Madelin's biography. The latter has the advantage of riper scholarship and yields little advantage to Belloc's volume in literary charm, but it is certain that Mr. Belloc will be read with enjoyment and profit for at least another thirty years. In the disarming preface he looks back to his youth with understanding and concludes that because he is "not too sure that the first enthusiasm was not a better and a juster mood, and the later hesitation less in touch with reality," he will not alter his book.

It is pleasant to record that the works of Professor Henri Sée are now being made available in translation for American readers. His breadth of scholarship and literary ability have introduced many students to France of the *Ancien Régime* and of the Revolution in a much more intimate and credible way than in the ordinary treatments of the eighteenth century. Knopf has just published *Economic and Social Conditions in France During the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1927, xix, 245 pp., \$3.00) in most useful and appropriate format. Hitherto it has been difficult to obtain in reasonable compass a modern and authoritative summary picture of French life at the close of the *Ancien Régime*. Professor Sée's small volume is precisely that—almost a formal manual describing specific aspects in separate chapters. To each of these he adds a really searching bibliographical note so that the student, even the most serious, can read the author's swift conclusions and then delve in the standard monographs for himself. The more general reader will discover a methodical and well-illustrated picture of a confused country at a time of confusion. The translation by E. H. Zeydel reproduces much of the crispness of the original.

It is an excellent idea on the part of Professor G. P. Gooch and his publishers to add a sixty-page chapter (surveying the relevant publications of 1927) to the third impression of *Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy* (Longmans, Green, New York, 1928, lx, 218 pp., \$3.00). The original volume was quite the most useful guide in English to the diplomatic history of the half-century before the Great War, and itself grew from a paper delivered to the British Institute of International Affairs. If Professor Gooch can be induced to continue to keep his work up to date he will render a great service to all students of the period. His method is dispassionate and he is a true surveyor, leaving his brief personal conclusions to his last chapter. In the new edition he limits himself to brief description and cool evaluation of the new material and refrains from amplifying his interpretation. This is quite as it should be.

"Mr. Speaker Longworth" is described by William Tyler Page, Clerk of the House, as possessing humanness combined with real ability, a powerful personal influence, sound judgment, ability to harmonize, and to compromise when necessary—as being notoriously fair, affable, easy of approach, full of quips and jokes, and yet, for all his nonchalance, showing the iron grip beneath the gloved hand. His especial contributions, legislatively, have been along the line of tariff and matters of taxation. (March *Scribner's*.)

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, OF THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, published monthly, except June, July, August, and September, at Philadelphia, Pa., for April 1, 1928.

County of Philadelphia,
State of Pennsylvania,

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Alfred C. Willits, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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ALFRED C. WILLITS.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 19th day of March, 1928.

JULIA M. O'BRIEN.

Books on History and Government Published in the United States From Feb. 25 to Mar. 31, 1928

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AMERICAN HISTORY

- Coe, Samuel G. The mission of William Carmichael to Spain [1791-1794]. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 123 pp.
- Damon, Samuel C. A journey to lower Oregon and upper California, 1848-1849. San Francisco: J. J. Newbegin, 358 Post Street. 86 pp. \$15.00.
- Jennings, Walter W. Introduction to American economic history. N. Y.: Crowell. 558 pp. \$3.00.
- Knight, Melvin M. The Americans in Santo Domingo. N. Y.: Vanguard Press. 208 pp. \$1.00.
- Lewis, Edward R. America, nation or confusion; a study of our immigration problems. N. Y.: Harper. 424 pp. \$3.50.
- Macdonald, Austin F. Federal aid; a study of the American subsidy system. N. Y.: Crowell. 297 pp. (5 p. bibl.). \$2.75.
- Morgan, Lewis H. Government and institutions of the Iroquois. Rochester, N. Y.: Lewis H. Morgan Chapter, N. Y. State Archeological Association. 30 pp. 50c.
- Underwood, Oscar W. Drifting sands of party politics [Cleveland to Coolidge]. N. Y.: Century Co. 430 pp. \$3.50.
- Ware, Joseph, and Wilde, Ebenezer. Journal of an expedition against Quebec, and, A journal of a march from Cambridge on an expedition against Quebec. Tarrytown, N. Y.: William Abbott. 50 pp. \$4.50.
- Wile, Frederick William, editor. A century of industrial progress. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran. 606 pp. \$5.00.

ANCIENT HISTORY

- Boas, Franz. Primitive art. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 378 pp. \$6.75.
- Keith, Sir Arthur. Concerning man's origin. N. Y.: Putnam. 199 pp. \$2.00.
- Kyle, Melvin G. Explorations at Sodom. N. Y.: Revell. 141 pp. \$1.50.
- Moret, Alexandre. The Nile and Egyptian civilization. N. Y.: Knopf. 526 pp. (2 p. bibl.). \$7.50.
- Rostovtzeff, Michael I. Mystic Italy [the Greek mystery religions of the first three centuries A. D. in Pompeii and Rome]. N. Y.: Holt. 197 pp. \$2.50.

ENGLISH HISTORY

- Christie, O. F. The transition from aristocracy, 1832-1867 [results of the English reform bill of 1832]. N. Y.: Putnam. 360 pp. (5 p. bibl.). \$3.50.
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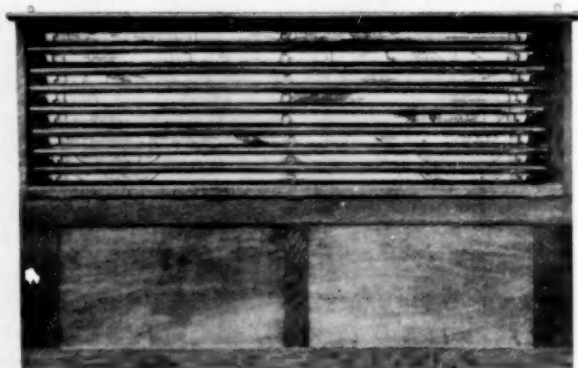
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